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ABSTRACT

Concern for human rights is a major element in the California State Board of Education's "History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten through Grade Twelve," and this document contains resources and guidelines to help teachers and curriculum developers integrate the teaching of human rights into their courses. Part 1 of this document contains a model that can be used by developers of curricula. This section also provides the philosophical basis for including studies on human rights and genocide in the curriculum; the location in the History-Social Science Framework where these learnings can be integrated; and questions that will engage students in critical thinking on this topic. Part 2 contains curriculum resources to help school districts develop their history-social science curriculum. Appendix A is a summary of where human rights and genocide are addressed in the History-Social Science Framework and includes: (1) the goals and curricula that focus on human rights and genocide; (2) course descriptions; and (3) criteria for evaluating instructional materials. Appendix B offers vignettes that provide background to teachers on issues and events of human rights and genocide, including: (1) chapters 3, 5, and 6 of the Connecticut State Department of Education's resource guide, "Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality"; (2) "The Armenian Genocide"; (3) "The Ukrainian Genocide"; and (4) "Mass Murder and Genocide of Poles During World War II." (SM)

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Model Curriculum

for Human Rights and Genocide

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Model Curriculum

for Human Rights and Genocide

Published for the
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Acknowledgment

The California State Board of Education acknowledges especially the Connecticut State Department of Education for permission to reprint several sections of *Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality*, which was published in 1987. The material appears in Appendix B of this document.

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Foreword

It is of deep importance in our increasingly multicultural society and our interdependent world that our students recognize the sanctity of life and the dignity of the individual. We want to instill in our students a respect for each person as a unique individual. We want our students to understand that concern for ethics and human rights is universal and represents the aspirations of men and women in every time and place.

To this extent the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve* includes a knowledge strand of ethical literacy to be covered in the history-social science curriculum at every grade. As a result of these continuous studies, students should appreciate the value of human life, recognize governmental policies that practice or condone inhuman practices, and be prepared to exercise their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy toward the preservation of human rights.

This *Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide*, which serves as a guide for classroom teachers, supports the curriculum and instruction described in the framework. Pages 1-5 of this document contain a model that can be used by developers of curriculum. This section provides the philosophical bases for including studies on human rights and genocide in the curriculum, identifies places in the history-social science courses where learnings can be included, and poses questions that will engage students in critical thinking on this topic. Through the thoughtful interweaving of ideas, events, historical documents, and literature within the planned history lessons, we should help prepare students to be rational, humane decision makers and participating citizens in our democracy, citizens who understand what can go wrong if democratic principles are missing, and citizens who are dedicated to the protection of human rights now and into the twenty-first century.

Perry Dyke, President
State Board of Education

Bill Honig
Superintendent of Public Instruction
October, 1987

Preface

The *Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide* has been developed pursuant to Assembly Bill 1273 (1985), which states that:

> . . . the State Department of Education shall develop a model curriculum for use by school districts maintaining grades 7 to 12, inclusive, to be incorporated into existing history or social studies courses offered by these districts relating to the issue of genocide. The model curriculum shall prescribe a separate course of study for grades 7 to 9, inclusive, and grades 10 to 12, inclusive. The model curriculum shall be offered by school districts to meet the mandatory course requirements of sections 51210 and 51225.3 of the *Education Code*. . . . Prior to dissemination of the model curriculum to school districts, the model curriculum shall be approved by the State Board of Education.
>
> The model curriculum shall be incorporated into existing history and social studies courses without an increased level of services or lengthened schoolday.

The *Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide* has been prepared in alignment with the new *History–Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve*. Historical and current-day issues related to human rights and genocide, the struggles of individuals and groups to maintain freedom and liberty, and the responsibilities of democratic governments toward the preservation of human rights have been included.

The contributions of historians, educators, and interested groups in both the writing and review phases of development of the model curriculum are appreciated. The California State Board of Education approved the document on October 2, 1987, and submits it to the educational community for use and incorporation in the instructional program.

California State Board of Education

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Human Rights and Genocide in the History–Social Science Framework

A Model Curriculum

There is no more urgent task for educators in the field of history and social science than to teach students about the importance of human rights and to analyze with them the actual instances in which genocide—the ultimate violation of human rights—has been committed. We study the atrocities of the past not only to preserve their significance as historical events but also to help identify ways to prevent the atrocities from ever happening again.

There is no more urgent task than to teach students about the importance of human rights and to analyze the actual instances in which genocide has been committed.

Concern for human rights is a major element in the *History–Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve.* This concern is an important ingredient in several different learning strands and recurs in a variety of forms. The *ethical literacy* strand is based on the "recognition of the sanctity of life and the dignity of the individual." In the *constitutional heritage* strand, students learn about the evolution of democratic rights and of guarantees for the individual against government tyranny or against oppression by the majority. In the *civic literacy* strand ("civic values, rights, and responsibilities"), students learn why being an informed citizen is important in a democratic society. In the *national identity* strand, students learn to appreciate the pluralistic nature of American society. In the *sociopolitical* strand, students examine the role of law in our society as a safeguard for individual rights and freedoms and compare democratic and nondemocratic political systems.

Because these learning strands appear across the curriculum, attention is directed to issues of human rights in every history course, including United States history and world history. The study of human rights and genocide requires intellectual honesty and moral courage, for no nation or society in human history has been totally innocent of human rights abuses. It is necessary to acknowledge unflinchingly the instances in United States history when our own best ideals were betrayed by the systematic mistreatment of group members because of their race, religion, culture, language, gender, or political views. When studying other societies, we must be equally candid. Whether historical or contemporary, human rights abuses must be acknowledged, and students must learn that individuals and groups have been tortured, murdered, confined to psychiatric hospitals, or subjected to discriminatory treatment because of their race, religion, culture, gender, political views, or other personal characteristics that make them "different."

Genocide is the denial to groups of the right to live and the deliberate destruction of racial, ethnic, national, or religious groups. Although genocide has inflicted great suffering on humanity throughout history, its existence as a general crime was not evident until the twentieth century. The wholesale massacre of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923 was denounced as a "crime against civilization" by the world community,

Genocide is the denial to groups of the right to live and the deliberate destruction of racial, ethnic, national, or religious groups.

which had begun to recognize genocide as an offense against humanity as well as against the target group. It was more precisely defined in 1948, when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted *The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. This document defines genocide as follows:

> In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:
>
> (a) Killing members of the group
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

Because genocide by this definition involves the question of intent as well as the act of destruction, its applicability in given situations is sometimes subject to controversy; however, acts that may lack the deliberate attempt to destroy a group as such may still constitute gross human rights violations that are no less horrible in their consequences.

Instances of human rights violations, from torture to terrorism, from slavery to genocide, should be studied at appropriate historical points in the curriculum. Examples of genocide are the:

- Annihilation of the Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire
- Famine in the Ukraine caused by the Soviet government
- Nazi extermination of European Jews (the Holocaust)
- Mass murders of the Poles
- Mass killings of Cambodians by the Pol Pot regime

Examples of *extreme human rights violations* include:

- Slavery of black people in the U.S.
- Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in California
- Forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II on the West Coast of the U.S.
- Discrimination against blacks, Asians, Hispanics, American Indians, women, the handicapped, and homosexuals in the U.S.
- Apartheid in South Africa
- Political repression, torture, and terrorism such as that in Argentina
- Totalitarian policies, such as those that brought suffering to the Chinese people and those that were imposed in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia against Gypsies, disabled people, homosexuals, Slavs, and other groups in Eastern Europe

Students must understand the centuries-long struggle for human rights and democratic government. The curriculum requires the study of critical points in the evaluation of democratic ideas and practices, the landmark documents, and the struggles to safeguard human rights, including the:

- Magna Carta, which established limits on the power of the sovereign
- English Bill of Rights of 1689 and common law
- American Declaration of Independence and the Revolution

- United States Constitution (including the Bill of Rights)
- French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen
- President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech to Congress declaring the Four Freedoms and their incorporation in the Atlantic Charter
- United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights

By studying the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, students should learn that concern for human rights is not confined to Western nations; it is an international issue.

Students should also learn that people as well as ideas and institutions have played a role in the defense of human rights. They should be introduced to individuals from many societies and time periods who have risked their own lives to preserve the rights and lives of others, because there have been heroes as well as villains in this issue.

Violations of human rights should be examined within their historical context in order to understand the participants, the causes, and the consequences.

Whenever violations of human rights are studied, they should be examined within their historical context, so that students understand the events, the participants, the causes, and the consequences. Students should consider these events as they are described by historians, the kinds of controversies that continue to rage about the events, and whether or not reputable historians agree about them. The treatment of these historical controversies should reflect the *History-Social Science Framework's* determination "to present controversial issues honestly and accurately within their historical or contemporary context." In the same vein, classroom treatment of these issues should "recognize that historians often disagree about the interpretation of historical events and that today's textbooks may be altered by future research." In line with efforts to teach critical thinking, students should be encouraged to rely on reasonable evidence when studying these historical controversies, rather than on biased accounts or emotional arguments. They should also learn to recognize the use of propaganda to justify or deny violations of human rights.

Within this curriculum the study of human rights has three objectives: first, study of the record of oppression of individuals and groups; second, study of the governmental means to prohibit abuses of human rights; and third, encouragement of democratic values and attitudes to foster respect for differences among people and for the rights of all people. These three objectives are found throughout the *History-Social Science Framework*, both in the content of the material studied and in the learning strands that form the content.

In the early grades, children learn democratic values and good citizenship.

In the early grades, before children begin the formal study of history, they are taught democratic values and good citizenship. In kindergarten, children learn to work in groups, "to share, to take turns, to respect the rights of others," and to cooperate in solving problems. Emphasis is placed on learning "behaviors and values that are consistent with the democratic ethic." Children in grade two learn "basic civic values," with attention to "the values of fair play, good sportsmanship, and respect for the opinions of others." Special attention in grade two is placed on understanding cultural diversity. Children in grade three are introduced to men and women of achievement from different cultures, and they learn about heroic individuals who have worked to improve living conditions for others.

In the early grades the content and methods of the curriculum converge to teach children to respect the rights of others, to appreciate the ways that they

are like other people or different from them, to work harmoniously with those from other cultures, and to cultivate values that promote cooperation and good citizenship. The goal of both study and activity in these years is not only to promote cognitive appreciation for different cultures but also to work actively to combat feelings of prejudice and discrimination among children as they work and play together.

The study of human rights includes the story of the evolution of means to control human aggression and injustice.

In grades four through eight and ten through twelve, children study the history of the state, the nation, and the world, and they encounter many examples of the abuse of human rights. The history of human rights, however, does not end with the recounting of stories of the suffering that one group of people has inflicted on others; it also includes the story of the evolution of means to control human aggression and injustice. The latter story is no less important than the examples of people's inhumanity to one another, for it contains within it the understandings that must be developed in order to prevent future abuses of human rights.

As the abuses of human rights are examined, students must learn to note the presence or absence of governmental processes that protect human rights. They must pay close attention to the relationship between a state and its citizens and learn to ask critical questions, such as the following:

- Who controls the government? How did the rulers get power? Who is entitled to vote? Who is allowed to compete for office? Is there an opposition political party? How often are elections held?
- Is there a free press? Is the press allowed to criticize the government? Does the government have the power to censor the press and individual authors? Are people put in jail for expressing unpopular views? What happens to political or religious dissenters? Who controls radio and television broadcasts?
- Do the people have the right to practice religion? Do they have the right to travel? Are they free to hold meetings and to express their views without censorship by the government? Are they allowed to join free trade unions not controlled by the government? How are minorities treated by the government? Does the government permit racial or religious minorities to be persecuted by others?
- Are there laws protecting individual rights? Are these laws followed? Are all people treated equally by the law regardless of their race, religion, sex, or language? Is there an independent judiciary? Do the people have the right to trial by a jury? Are these trials fair and open? Do the people have the right to be represented by their own counsel? Are people arrested for criticizing the government?
- Does the government permit people to be tortured or subjected to cruel and inhuman punishment?
- Are organizations that monitor the condition of human rights allowed to function and publish their findings without interference by the government?
- Is the exercise of these rights controlled by the government at its discretion, to be offered and withdrawn at will? Or are they guaranteed and enforced in law and in fact regardless of the party in power?

Such practices are basic to the protection of human rights and individual liberties. They are fundamental to a democratic society. When these rights are present, we know that the society is democratic. When they are absent or when they are suspended or breached, we know that the society is undemocratic or that a democratic society is becoming less so.

Because respect for individual rights and protection for them are integral to the definition of a democratic society, students should recognize that a democratic system of government offers the best protection against the abuse of human rights.

A democratic system of government offers the best protection against the abuse of human rights.

At numerous points in the curriculum for grades six through twelve, students should analyze the political, religious, and philosophical ideas that have stimulated the development of democratic practices and democratic ethics. The protection of human rights depends ultimately on the strength and viability of democratic institutions. Democratic institutions depend ultimately on the informed support of their citizens for democratic ideas, ideals, practices, and values.

History demonstrates that the strongest protection for the rights of minorities and individuals is to be found in a democratic system of government where due process and equal rights are guaranteed to all and where citizens have an informed commitment to the improvement and preservation of a just and democratic society. The goal of the history–social science curriculum is to educate today's young people so that they know the history of human rights and of the efforts to protect these rights and so that they understand the democratic process, respect the rights of others, and willingly accept their obligations as citizens.

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Curriculum Resources

As school districts develop their history–social science curriculum, they may wish to develop case studies related to issues of human rights and events of genocide. The studies could include books about human rights organizations; key biographies of human rights activists (for example, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Sakharov); key histories; and personal accounts. The following list contains examples of curriculum resources and organizations that can provide materials. These resources and organizations have not been individually checked. Listing does not reflect endorsement by the California State Board of Education or the State Department of Education nor acceptance of the views expressed. It is the responsibility of the school district to verify acceptability of the materials obtained.

All the People, 543 N. Fairfax Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90036. This is a traveling photo-narrative and art exhibition entitled "In Der Nacht: Visions of Deaf Survivors of Nazi Oppression." The package includes a curriculum guide, bibliographies, posters, and narratives of people related to disabled victims of the Nazis.

American Federation of Teachers. *International Education: Values and Perspectives on . . . Four Human Rights* (Teacher's edition). 11 Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036.

American Indian Historical Society, 1493 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94117; telephone (415) 626-5235. Information available, when requested in writing, on the treatment of Indians native to California and on human rights and genocide issues. Books include *Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*, by Rupert Costo, and *Genocide in Northwestern California*, by Jack Norton, Indian Historian Press; and *California Indian vs. White Civilization*, by S. F. Cook, University of California Press.

Amnesty International, 322 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10001; telephone (212) 807-8400; 3407 West 6th Street, Suite 704, Los Angeles, CA 90005; telephone (213) 388-1237; 3618 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, CA 94118; telephone (415) 563-3733. Curriculum materials: *Amnesty International Annual Report* (worldwide yearly reports); *Torture in the Eighties; Torture by Governments: A Teaching Guide for High School*; and individual reports on countries (e.g., South Africa, Argentina, and Cambodia).

Anti-Defamation Committee of the Polish American Congress, 2048 Sherman Way, Suite 217, Canoga Park, CA 91303; telephone (818) 704-1759. Sources of information on the mass murder of Poles during World War II, the Katyn Massacre, and the Statutes of Kalisz are provided.

Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith (ADL), 121 Steuart Street, San Francisco, CA 94105; telephone (415) 391-0200. Offices also in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Sacramento. Bibliographical sources and resources for teaching about the Holocaust are available.

Anti-Violence Project of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1517 U Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009; telephone (202) 332-6483. Publications on anti-gay violence are available. Contact person: Kevin Berrill.

Armenian Assembly of America, 122 C Street N.W., Suite 350, Washington, DC 20001. *Teacher's Manual on the Armenian Genocide.* This teaching manual contains reference materials, facts, documents, maps, excerpts from eyewitness accounts, and a list of resource persons and bookstores. Chapters deal with deportation, extermination, and the world response.

Armenian Assembly of America, Western Regional Office; 4250 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 202, Los Angeles, CA 90010; telephone (213) 933-5238.

Armenian National Committee, 419 W. Colorado, Glendale, CA 91204; telephone (818) 500-1918.

Armenian National Education Committee, 138 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016.

Asian American Educators Association, c/o Sam Wong, 4669 Mt. Bigelow Drive, San Diego, CA 92111.

Board of Education, Bureau of Libraries, City of New York, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201. *Books by and About the American Negro for Elementary, Intermediate, Junior and Senior High School Libraries,* 1969.

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasta Hall, Edmonton, Canada, T6g2E8.

Chinese for Affirmative Action, Henry Der, Executive Director, 17 Walter Lum Place, San Francisco, CA 94108. Brochures with information on discrimination affecting Chinese Americans in California are available.

Chinese Historical Society of America, 17 Adler Place, San Francisco, CA 94133. The society makes available books, articles, primary sources on the Chinese American experience, and information on one example of genocide, "The Rape of Nanking." (During the Sino-Japanese War, Nanking, former capital of the Kuomintang government, was sacked, and 44,000 women were raped and 100,000 residents murdered.) *The China Guidebook* (1982-83 Edition), is available from Eurasia Press, 302 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001.

Commemoration Committee, 4315 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90029. The publication *Genocide in Ukraine, 1932-33* is made available.

Community United Against Violence, 514 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA 94114; telephone (415) 864-3112. A bibliography and a publication on anti-gay violence and discrimination against lesbians and gays are available. A speakers' bureau and consultation service are also available. Contact person: Chris Nunez.

Consortium for International Studies Education, The Ohio State University. *Global Issues: Human Rights.* Edited by James E. Hart and others. Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1980 (230 pages). This publication contains lessons, activities, and resources for human rights topics.

Constitutional Rights Foundation, 1950 Cotner Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90025. Classroom materials on human rights and international law are available; e.g., *South Africa: Time Running Out* (with bibliography), 1984 (64 pages).

Ethnic Studies Departments, University of California and California State Universities. Information on current problems affecting ethnic minorities in California is available.

Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., 25 Kennard Road, Brookline, MA 02146; telephone (617) 232-1595. Executive Director, Margot Stern Strom. A resource center provides films, slides, filmstrip kits, videotapes, posters, and testimony of witnesses to the Holocaust. The foundation conducts interdisciplinary teacher training and curriculum development workshops on the Holocaust. A resource book, *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior* (416 pages), is available.

The Forced Famine in Ukraine, 1932-33. Prepared by Myron B. Kuropas, with the assistance of the United States Ukraine Famine Commission. This curriculum and resource guide may be obtained from Ukrainian National Association, 30 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, NJ 97302; telephone (201) 451-2200.

Fund for Human Dignity, 666 Broadway, Suite 410, New York, NY 10012; telephone (212) 529-1600. Bibliographies and publications on gay and lesbian human rights issues are available. Contact person: Sherry Cohen.

Global Awareness Program, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199. The program has a publication for teachers, *Sample Lesson Plans: International Human Rights.* The 78-page publication contains handouts, questions, and activities for high school students.

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Director: James E. Mace, U.S. Government Commission on the Ukraine Famine, Cambridge, Mass.; telephone (617) 495-7835.

Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000 C Street, N.W., Suite 588, Washington, DC 20036. A 1985 directory of Holocaust resource centers, institutions, and organizations in North America is available.

Hovannisian, Richard G. *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1986.

Hovannisian, Richard G. *The Armenian Holocaust.* Cambridge, Mass.: Armenian Heritage Press, National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, n.d. This is a bibliography relating to the deportation, massacre, and dispersion of the Armenian people from 1915 to 1923.

Howard University, 2401 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20001. Michael R. Winston, Director, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Materials on slavery and the culture of black people are available.

Indian Action Council of Northwestern California, Inc., P.O. Box 1287, Eureka, CA 95501.

Indian Center of San Jose, Inc., 3485 East Hill Drive, San Jose, CA 95127.

International Action Against Genocide. Report No. 53. London: Minority Rights Group. This 16-page document is a resource for teachers and students. It provides a succinct but comprehensive overview of genocide.

International Alert Against Genocide and Mass Killings, Box 259, 1015 Gayley Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide. U.S. Address: c/o Ronald Santoni, Denison University, Granville, OH 43203. This organization distributes a newsletter entitled *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide.*

Japanese American Citizens League, Rom Wakabayashi, National Director, 1765 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA 94115; telephone (415) 921-5225. *Japanese American Experience: A Teacher's Manual* and a monograph, *Cooperative Pluralism,* are available.

Japanese American Curriculum Project, 414 East Third Avenue, San Mateo, CA 94401; telephone (415) 343-9408. This is a nonprofit educational organization that develops and disseminates educational materials on Asian American issues. Books, films, and a catalog are available at cost.

Jewish Community Relations Council of the Greater East Bay, Oakland, Calif. A publication, *The Holocaust: A Compendium of Resources for Secondary School Teachers,* is available.

Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco, Marin, and the Peninsula, 121 Steuart Street, Suite 301, San Francisco, CA 94105; telephone (415) 957-1551. The council provides a two-week study unit on the Nazi Holocaust, with lesson plans, historical notes, and maps.

Kloian, Richard D., *The Armenian Genocide: News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922.* Berkeley: Anton Printing, n.d. Published first as *The Armenian Genocide—First 20th Century Holocaust.* Distributed by ACC Books, P.O. Box 5436, Richmond, CA 94805.

Kuper, Leo. *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982. ISBN 0-300-02795-8. Source materials for teachers are included.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Manuel F. Marques, State Director, P.O. Box 562, Stanton, CA 90680; telephone (714) 898-2312. Information on issues affecting Hispanics is available.

Martyrs' Memorial and Museum of the Holocaust, 6505 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90048 (West Coast affiliate of Yad Vashem, Israel); telephone (213) 852-1234. Director: Michael Nutkiewicz. Bibliographies, guides, resources, films, and a list of speakers are available.

Milpitas Unified School District, 1335 E. Calaveras, Milpitas, CA 95035. *The Holocaust, A Resource Guide for Students and Teachers,* by Jack Weinstein, is available at cost.

Minority Rights Group, 35 Claremont Avenue, Suite 45, New York, NY 10027; telephone (212) 864-7986. Reports on human rights and case studies on genocide are provided.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Region 1, 2480 Stutter Street, San Francisco, CA 94115; telephone (415) 398-5227.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 4805 Mount Hope Drive, Baltimore, MD 21215; telephone (301) 358-8900. Resource materials on slavery and the struggle of black people for civil rights are available.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. This organization publishes *The Record*, which is a short history of the Holocaust in newspaper format.

National Council for the Social Studies. "International Human Rights Education: Issues, Approaches, Resources," *Social Education*, Special Issue (September, 1985), Vol. 49, No. 6.

National Human Rights Resource Center, 30 North San Pedro Road, Suite 140, San Rafael, CA 94903.

National Indian Education Association, 1115 Second Avenue, South, Ivy Tower Building, Minneapolis, MN 55403; telephone (612) 333-5341.

New Jersey Holocaust and Genocide Education Project, New Jersey State Department of Education. Paul Winkler, Superintendent, Lower Camden County Public Schools, 200 Coopers Folly Road, Atco, NJ 08004; telephone (609) 767-2850.

New York State Social Studies Council. "Genocide: Issues, Approaches, Resources," *Social Science Record*, Special Issue (fall, 1987).

Oakland Association of Asians in Education, c/o Kozo Nishifue, President, 1025 Second Avenue, Oakland, CA 94607.

Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Band of Indians, P.O. Box 1648, Bishop, CA 93514.

Pan-African Studies Departments at California State Universities at San Diego, San Francisco, Northridge, and Sacramento; University of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles; and University of Southern California. Selected references include: Pierre Van Den Bergh, *South Africa: A Study of Conflict*, University of California Press, 1970; Jay Hoagland, *South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict*, Houghton Mifflin, 1972; C. W. DeAlewiet, *A History of South Africa: Social and Economic*, Oxford University Press, 1968; and Chancellor Williams, *Destruction of Black Civilization*, Third World Press, 1974.

Poland's Millenium Library, 3424 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90018. Sources on the Nazi Holocaust, Polish victims of the Holocaust, the Katyn Massacre, and other Soviet atrocities. Materials include books, documents, maps, statistical information, and eyewitness accounts.

Polish American Congress, Inc., National Office, 1200 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622; telephone (312) 252-5737. Staff development and resources include *God's Playground—A History of Poland*, by Norman Davies (two volumes), Columbia University Press, New York, 1982; *Forgotten Holocaust*, by Richard C. Lukas, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 1985; *Death in the Forest*, by J. K. Zawodny, Notre Dame

University Press, 1970; *The Other Holocaust*, by Bohdan Wytwycky, The Novak Report, 918 "F" Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20004, 1980.

Polish American Congress, Inc., Northern California Division, 3040 22nd Street, San Francisco, CA 94110; telephone (415) 386-1815.

Polish American Congress, Inc., Southern California Division, 22048 Sherman Way, Suite 217, Canoga Park, CA 91303; telephone (818) 704-1759. Information on the Nazi Holocaust and the Katyn Massacre is available.

Shornburg Center for Research and Black Culture, an affiliate of the New York Public Library, 103 West 135th Street, New York, NY 10030.

Social Issues Resources Series, Inc., P.O. Box 2348, Boca Raton, FL 33427. Volumes on human rights and a compendium of articles are available.

Social Science Education Consortium. *Global Issues: Activities and Resources for the High School Teacher*, by Kenneth A. Switzer and Paul T. Mulloy, 1979. Address: 855 Broadway, Boulder, CO 80302.

Social Studies School Service. *Teaching the Holocaust: Resources and Materials*, 1984-85. This is a curriculum guide for teachers. Address: P.O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90232.

State of Connecticut, Department of Education. *Resource Guide, Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality, 1987.* Portions, with California amendments, are included in Appendix B of this document. Address: 165 Capitol Avenue, State Office Building, Hartford, CT 06106.

TACT (The Association of Chinese Tongs), c/o Irene Dea Collier, P.O. Box 210564, San Francisco, CA 94121. Resource materials on Chinese Americans in the early settlement of California are available.

Torney-Purta, Judith. "Human Rights," in *Teaching for International Understanding, Peace and Human Rights*. Edited by Norman Graves and others. Paris: UNESCO, 1984. This article describes 25 classroom activities on human rights, discrimination, and the plight of refugees.

Jack Treiman, Honorary Consul, Consulate of Estonia, 21535 Vanowen Street, Suite 211, Canoga Park, CA 91303-2787; telephone (818) 884-4850. This is a resource for information about the Baltic States, refugees from the Baltic Holocaust, publications, and a video (*The Estonians: For the Record*, produced by the Canadian Multicultural Association).

Tuskegee Institute, Hollis Burke Frissell Library, Tuskegee, Ala. Books and resource materials about the civil rights movement are available.

Ukrainian Famine Commission (U.S. Government), Vanguard Building, Room 537, 1111 20th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20579; telephone (202) 254-3464.

Ukrainian Famine Research Committee, in collaboration with the National Film Board of Canada. *Harvest of Despair*, a 16mm film (also available on video cassette).

Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California, 901 Amberwood Road, Sacramento, CA 95864; telephone (916) 482-4706. *Genocide of Ukrainians in 1932-33: A Case Study*, by Miron Dolot, 1986. This is a teaching guide.

Ukrainian Research Center Institute, Harvard University 1953 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138; telephone (617) 495-7833.

UNESCO: "Human Rights, Questions and Answers," by Leah Levin, Illustrated by Plantu, UNESCO, 1981, France. Reprinted in 1982. ISBN 92-3-1001957-0.

United Nations, United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Reports on the persecution of religious minority groups, the Holocaust, and human rights are available.

University of the State of New York, the State Education Department, Bureau of Curriculum Development, Albany, NY 12234. *The Human Rights Series:* Volume I, *Teaching About the Holocaust and Genocide: Introduction* (1985); Volume II, *Teaching About the Holocaust and Genocide* (1985); Volume III, *Case Studies: Persecution/Genocide* (1986).

Vietnamese Educators Association, c/o Nhi D. Le, Community Employment Project, 220 Golden Gate Avenue, Room 309, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Simon Wiesenthal Center, 9760 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90035. Bibliographies, guides, resources, films, curricula, scholarly publications, and a list of speakers are available.

Zoryan Institute, 85 Fayerweather Street, Cambridge, MA 02138; and West Coast Office, 16200 Ventura Boulvard, Suite 423, Los Angeles, CA 91316; telelphone (818) 784-0748. This is a resource center for educational materials and teaching assistance on the Armenian Genocide.

Appendix A

Summary of Human Rights and Genocide in the Curriculum

Knowledge of human rights and the inhumanity of genocide are presented throughout the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve.* As curriculum specialists and textbook publishers develop their materials, attention should be given to including understandings of this topic at every grade level. The summary of where human rights and genocide are addressed in the framework that follows this paragraph will also assist teachers as they prepare their lesson plans, select instructional materials, and determine activities for students. Curriculum specialists and teachers should recognize that the framework includes examples of human rights and genocide at appropriate places in the course descriptions. This does not preclude districts from including additional examples or from addressing a recommended example within another course. Some examples follow:

During the unit on "Linking Past to Present: The American People, Then and Now" in grade five, the civil rights movement can be part of the understanding that the American creed calls on students to value the nation's diversity and work for change within the framework of law.

During the unit on "World War II" in the grade eleven U.S. History and Geography course, students are asked to look once more at the Holocaust and investigate the response of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration to Hitler's atrocities against the Jews and other groups. At that time, they could also relook at the U.S. response to the genocide of the Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire.

During the unit on "Comparative Governments, with Emphasis on Communism in the World Today," in the grade twelve course, students could again specifically reflect on the Ukrainian Famine as a commitment by a communist totalitarian government that considered the Ukrainians a hindrance to the achievement of that regime's goals.

Framework Section	Summary of Human Rights and Genocide in the Curriculum
Introduction	We want our students to know their rights and responsibilities as American citizens and to understand the meaning of the Constitution as a social contract defining our democratic government and guaranteeing our individual rights. . . . We want them to develop a keen sense of ethics and citizenship. We want them to care deeply about the quality of life in their community, their nation, and their world. . . . We want them to gain a deep understanding of individual and social ethics. . . . We expect our

students to reflect on the various ways that people have struggled throughout time with ethical issues and will consider what the consequences are for us today. . . .

Human rights and genocide are addressed in five of the 17 distinguishing characteristics of the framework, as follows:

Eighth: This framework incorporates a multicultural perspective. . . .

Tenth: This framework emphasizes the importance of the application of ethical understanding and civic virtue. . . .

Eleventh: This framework encourages the development of civic and democratic values . . . and reflection on the responsibilities of citizens in a free society. . . .

Twelfth: This framework supports the frequent study and discussion of the fundamental principles embodied in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. . . .

Thirteenth: This framework encourages teachers to present controversial issues honestly and accurately within their historical or contemporary context. History without controversy is not good history nor is such history as interesting to students as an account that captures the debates of the times.. . . Through the study of controversial issues, both in history and in current affairs, students should learn that people in a democratic society have the right to disagree, that different perspectives have to be taken into account, and that judgments should be based on reasonable evidence and not on bias and emotion.

Goals and Curriculum Strands

Human rights and genocide are addressed in the following curriculum strands for kindergarten through grade twelve:

Historical Literacy
Ethical Literacy
Cultural Literacy
Sociopolitical Literacy
National Identity

Constitutional Heritage
Civic Values, Rights, and Responsibilities
Participation Skills
Critical Thinking Skills

Course Descriptions

Kindergarten	***Learning and Working, Now and Long Ago.*** Children learn to respect the rights of others. They are introduced to literature that raises value issues (for example, *The People Could Fly* and folktales about American blacks). . . . Children build their sense of self and self-worth . . . and build a sense of historical empathy.
Grade One	***A Child's Place in Time and Space.*** Children are ready to develop a deeper and broader understanding of cultural diversity. . . . They are introduced to value-laden problems for discussion through reading stories and fairy tales that pose problems. . . . Children develop awareness of cultural diversity, now and long ago. . . . They read and dramatize stories that tell about the people and their beliefs and customs . . . for example, African folktales, American Indian tales, and Hispanic stories.
Grade Two	***People Who Make a Difference.*** Children learn about the people who make a difference in their lives, including those who have made a difference in our national life and in the larger world community. . . . Children make comparative studies of cultures through foods. . . . and through literature. The stories of people include leaders from all walks of life, including Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr.
Grade Three	***Continuity and Change.*** Children can begin to think about continuity and change in their own locality and nation. . . . American Indians who lived in the region should be authentically presented. . . . Children should consider the rich legacy of cultural traditions that newcomers brought with them. Children begin to understand and participate in local issues. They understand the people by reading biographies of Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and others.
Grade Four	***California: A Changing State.*** The story of California includes the ethnic diversity, the richness of its cultural and multiethnic heritage. . . . Students learn about cultures of American Indians and the arrivals of Asians, Latin Americans, and blacks. Students learn about pioneer women such as Biddy Mason. They read about the Asian immigrants who

mined for gold and helped build the railroads. Students learn that with cultural diversity come elements of tension. . . .

Grade Five

United States History and Geography: Making of a New Nation. Students develop historical empathy through the eyes of participants in great events; for example, American Indians, slaves, and people of different racial, religious, and ethnic groups. Students learn of indentured servants from Africa, . . . conditions that fostered slavery in the colonies, . . . the growing slave trade, . . . how young men and women felt, having been stolen from their families, . . . life on the plantation, . . . and contributions of free blacks in the colonies. Students read excerpts from narratives of slaves and slave owners.

Students should follow the explorations of pathfinders such as Daniel Boone . . . and consider the viewpoint of the American Indians who occupied these same lands. Students learn about the resistance of American Indian tribes to encroachments by settlers and the government's policy of removing Indians to lands west of the Mississippi. Students study biographies of leaders such as Tecumseh, John Ross, and Osceola; and they read the "Trail of Tears."

Students learn that, during the westward migration, many slave women gained their freedom in the West. They learn how and when slavery was brought to an end in the United States. They come to understand the major contributions that black men and women have made to the economic, political, and ethical development of the nation. . . . They learn about the significant role that black men and women have played in the development of a distinctively American culture. . . .

Students reflect on the ethical content of the nation's principles . . . the promise of a democratic government where the rights of the individual are protected by the government and by popular consensus. . . . We are strong because we are diverse . . . respecting each other's right to be different. . . .

The literature in grade five should reflect the pluralistic nature of American society and the importance of living up to the nation's principles and ideals.

Grade Six

World History and Geography: Ancient Civilizations. In studying each ancient society, students must examine the role of women and the presence or absence of slavery. Students compare the Kingdom of Cush with other centers of African settle-

ment. . . . Students study the ethical teachings of Confucius. . . . Students can read Paul's letter to Philemon, a letter whose moral teaching on slavery challenged by persuasion the social order and institutions of Rome.

Grade Seven

World History and Geography: Medieval and Early Modern Time. In studying the social structure of the Ottoman Empire, attention is given to the role of women, the privileges of its conquered peoples, and slavery. . . . Students study the African States in the Middle Ages.

The Story of St. Francis can be told. . . . To stimulate discussion of human rights and genocide in the Middle Ages, students should learn about the continuing persecution of the Jewish minority. . . . the massacre of Jews by Crusaders. . . . their expulsion from England, France, many German cities, and Spain. Students should understand that intolerance and zealotry led to horrendous massacres of Jews. Students examine the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. . . .

Students see how the human rights and political ideas implicit in the Magna Carta were basic principles embodied in the English Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of The Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and the American Declaration of Independence.

In linking past to present, students consider ideas that continue to influence our nation and world today; for example, . . . the ideal of human rights, a vital issue today throughout the world.

Grade Eight

United States History and Geography: Growth and Conflict. Students read from the Declaration of Independence and discuss questions such as: What are "natural rights" and "natural law"? What did Jefferson mean when he wrote, "all men are created equal" and "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"?

Students study the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights of 1689. . . .

Students examine the tortuous process through which the Founding Fathers struggled for compromise on issues dividing the North and South and enacted provisions that, until amended, legalized and preserved slavery (for example, the three-fifths rule of representation, the slave importation clause, and the fugitive slave clause). Special attention is paid to the issues that these clauses raise. . . .

Students examine the daily life of ordinary citizens in the new nation in order to understand the life of servants, blacks (free and slave), and American Indians. . . . Students study the searing accounts of Indian removal and the "Trail of Tears." . . . Students learn about Helen Hunt Jackson, who worked to improve living conditions for California Indians.

Students learn about the major impetus given to the women's rights movement . . . and the connections between the women's rights movement and the antislavery movement. . . .

Students study major reform campaigns; for example, the evils of slavery. Students learn of black slavery . . . and its marked effects on the region's political, social, economic, and cultural development. The institution of slavery in the South is studied in its historical context (which includes the review of seventh-grade studies of West African civilizations before the coming of the Europeans).

Students compare the American system of chattel slavery . . . with slavery in other societies, and learn about the daily lives of slaves, . . . the inhuman practices of slave auctions, the brutal separation of families, the illiteracy enforced on slaves by law, and the many laws that suppressed the efforts of slaves to win their freedom. . . . Particular attention should be paid to the more than 100,000 free blacks in the South and the laws that curbed their freedom and economic opportunity. . . . Special emphasis should be given to what blacks did themselves in working for their own freedom . . . and the activities of leading black abolitionists . . . and the support of white abolitionists. . . . Students should read excerpts from literature regarding slavery and excerpts from slave narratives and abolitionist tracts of this period. . . .

Students concentrate on the causes and consequences of the Civil War. During study of the Reconstruction Era, students should learn of the federal civil rights bill passed by the Republican Congress to grant full equality to black Americans, which was followed by adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Students learn of the influence of black citizens on the direction of southern politics and the election of black members of Congress. Students analyze how events during and after the Reconstruction raised and then dashed the hopes of black Americans for full equality . . . and how slavery was replaced by black peonage, segregation, and other legal restrictions on the rights of blacks. Racism prevailed. . . . The events are linked with the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Students learn that all civil rights progress is based on

the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

During study of the "Rise of Industrial America," students learn of . . . the Indian wars, Custer's Last Stand, and the removal of American Indians to reservations. . . . Students read Chief Joseph's words of surrender . . . to grasp the great heroism and human tragedy that accompanied the conquest of this last frontier. Students also learn of the prejudice displayed against blacks, Catholics, Jews, Asians, and other newcomers. While studying about the development of the West, students learn of the large migrations of families from Mexico . . . and the social and political isolation of these immigrants. . . .

In "Linking Past to Present," students . . . assess major changes in the social and economic status of blacks . . . religious minorities. . . . In viewing the changes in social conditions over time, students should analyze the role of the Constitution as a mechanism to guarantee the rights of individuals and to ban discrimination . . . and discuss the citizen's ethical obligation . . . to work toward a society in which all people enjoy equal rights and a good life. . . . Students should have an opportunity to discuss how citizens in a democracy can influence events and, through participation, apply ethical standards to public life. Students can also identify key ethical dilemmas faced by society . . . and discuss the individual's responsibility to self, others, and society regarding such issues.

Grade Nine

Elective Courses in History–Social Science. The course "Our State in the Twentieth Century" provides for realization that individual citizens can influence public policy through participation. California is a multicultural state. . . . The studies extend students' understanding of migration in California's history; the internment of Japanese Californians; and the new waves of immigrants. Case studies provide opportunities to study issues such as the increasing diversity within every aspect of the state . . . ; and the changing societal structure in the state, including the impact of immigrant groups.

The course on "The Humanities" provides for inquiry into the role of racial and ethnic groups within American society with their contributions to our common civilization. . . .

The "Area Studies: Cultures" course provides for studies of the status and roles of minority groups.

The "Ethnic Studies" course provides opportunities to study the characteristics of America's ethnic

groups and to learn how they are alike and different, in both their past and present experiences, . . . understand the root cultures from which American ethnic groups have developed, . . . gain insights into the barriers that various ethnic groups have had to overcome in the past and present, . . . learn of contributions of groups and individuals, . . . and learn to respect a wide range of diversity in our multicultural society.

Grade Ten

World History and Geography: The Modern World. The course begins with a study of major problems in the world today . . . ; for example, government-produced famine in parts of Africa . . . and the struggle to defend human rights and democratic freedoms against governments that respect neither.

Students study documents and read related selections to deepen understanding of the evolution of democratic principles and human rights; for example, Plato's *Republic*, the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence, and the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

During the unit on "World War I and Its Consequences," students discuss human rights and genocide and study the genocide of the Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire, the reactions of other governments and world opinion, and the effects of genocide on the remaining Armenian population.

During the unit on "Totalitarianism in the Modern World," attention is given to the destruction of human rights by Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, particularly the Holocaust and the famine in Ukraine. Hitler's policy of pursuing racial purity and its transformation into the Final Solution and the Holocaust should receive close attention. Students examine the highly developed Jewish culture that produced many artists, scientists, and scholars, . . . the systematic suppression of rights and freedoms, . . . the ruthless utilization of bureaucratic social organization and modern technology, . . . the relationship to the genocide of the Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire, . . . the Holocaust as a model for future despots such as Pol Pot in Cambodia, . . . the Nazi persecution of Gypsies and homosexuals, . . . the failure of Western governments to offer refuge to those fleeing Nazism, . . . the abortive revolts, . . . and the moral courage of Christians who risked their lives to save Jews. Students read books such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *Night* to think about why one of the

world's most civilized nations participated in the systematic murder of millions of innocent people.

Students should understand the nature of totalitarian rule . . . and learn to recognize the importance of . . . safeguards of individual rights, . . . the role of the individual in mass society, . . . the ethical responsibility of the individual. . . .

During the unit on World War II, students learn of the collaboration in 1939 of Nazi Germany with Soviet communists to partition Poland and eventually to eliminate Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, while still denying freedom and independence to Armenia and Ukraine. Students study, as one consequence of World War II, the genocide committed in Cambodia by the Pol Pot regime.

When studying the unit on the Soviet Union and China, students examine the human consequences of both revolutions in terms of the millions of "class enemies" and political dissidents who were murdered during and after the revolutions. . . .

During the unit on the "Middle East: Israel and Syria," studies include the problems of the displaced Palestinian refugee, the recurrent use of terrorism, . . . and the Holocaust as a factor in the creation of Israel in 1948.

In the unit on sub-Saharan Africa, students learn about the enslavement of ten million Africans between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries and the effects on Africa of this systematic depletion by European slave traders of young men and women. In South Africa, the system of apartheid . . . systematically denies legal opportunity and political power to the black majority.

Grade Eleven

United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century. The course examines major turning points in American history in the twentieth century . . . ; for example, the continuing tension between the individual and the state and between minority rights and majority power. . . . and the movements toward equal rights for racial minorities and women. . . .

In the first review unit, students learn about the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas. . . . When studying the Progressive Era, students discuss the founding of organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to defend unpopular views and

minority rights. During the Jazz Age, Ku Klux Klan activities increased in the South and Midwest. . . . A migration of many blacks from the South helped to create the "Harlem Renaissance." . . .

In the unit on World War II, students look again at the Holocaust and consider the response of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration to Hitler's atrocities against the Jews and other groups. . . . The racial segregation of the armed forces . . . produced a strong stimulus for civil rights activism when the war ended. The relocation and internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans during the war on grounds of national security was a governmental decision that should be analyzed as a violation of their human rights.

The unit on "The Civil Rights Movement in the Postwar Era" emphasizes the development of students' critical thinking about human rights in the United States and about the application of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights in modern times to the resolution of human rights issues, . . . the central role black Americans have played in this century in expanding the reach of the Constitution to include all Americans. Students review the enormous barriers black Americans had to overcome, . . . provisions enacted into the Constitution in 1787, . . . the post-Civil War laws, . . . and the continuing discrimination. Students read from Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* . . . . to understand "separate but equal." Students study the rise of the civil rights movement, its purposes, and the legal battle to abolish segregation. Students analyze *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, . . . political and social activism, . . . the lives of leaders in the civil rights movement, such as Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., . . . the leadership of the black churches, . . . the extraordinary moral courage of ordinary black men, women, and children and the interracial character of the civil rights movement. The expansion of the role of the federal government as a guarantor of civil rights is examined . . . as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Students learn about the Black Power movement, . . . the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, which deprived the civil rights movement of its best-known leader, but not its enduring effects on American life. Important literature of this period is read. Other groups—including women, Hispanics, American Indians, and the handicapped—organized to press for legislative and judicial recognition of their civil equality. The consequences of these movements should be noted.

During the unit "The United States in Recent Times," students . . . reflect on the redefinition of the Bill of Rights during the twentieth century, particularly the tension between the rights of the individual and the power of the state; . . . compare the status of minorities in 1900 to the present; and reflect on changes in job opportunities, educational opportunities, and legal protections available to minorities and women.

Grade Twelve

Principles of American Democracy. In this course students pursue a deeper understanding of the institutions of American government, both in theory and practice. . . .

In the unit "The Courts and the Governmental Process," students examine the evolution of the civil rights issue through cases affecting blacks, Asians, and Hispanics.

In the unit "Comparative Governments, with Emphasis on Communism in the World Today," students examine the way in which different philosophies influence . . . human rights practices. Critical thinking skills are employed to analyze the nature of a dictatorial regime in which no social contract exists between the state and those it governs and in which citizens have no rights and no means of redressing their wrongs. Students should be aware of the methods that the totalitarian communist state employs to repress internal political opposition and dissident minorities. . . .

Students should examine the condition of human rights in communist societies . . . purges . . . and mass arrests. . . . Why are there defections? Why do communist governments spy on their citizens and prevent them from emigrating? Why are critics jailed or harassed? Why do ordinary people risk their lives to flee a communist state, such as the Vietnamese boat people, Cuban refugees, and East Germans who scale the Berlin Wall? How do communist regimes come to power? How do they maintain power? In assessing the Soviet Union's pattern of dominating other nations, students should review the . . . mass deportations and "Russification" of the Baltic populations . . . and the suppression of the Solidarity movement in Poland. . . .

A concluding activity during the unit "Contemporary Issues Confronting Students in the World Today" includes a rigorous defense of democracy in the world . . . and human rights issues.

Criteria for Evaluating Instructional Materials

The writing in textbooks . . . must incorporate human interest wherever possible so that students will recognize the universal humanity of people in other times and places, . . . the men and women whose triumphs and tragedies continue to deserve our attention, . . . and people who . . . authored terrible tragedies. . . .

Texbooks and other instructional materials must be accurate and truthful in describing controversies in history, including controversies among historians.

Textbooks and other instructional materials must portray the experiences . . . of different racial, religious, and ethnic groups . . . and the importance of cultural diversity in American history or world history. . . .

Historical controversies must display a variety of perspectives by the participants; for example, the debate over slavery at the Constitutional Convention, and implementation of the *Brown* decision.

Writers of textbooks and other instructional materials must pay close attention to ethical issues. . . . Publishers and other developers of curriculum materials should pay special attention to the treatment of human rights as an expression of a society's ethics. . . .

Textbooks and other instructional materials should reflect the significance of civic values and democratic institutions; for example, respect for the rights of minorities. . . . Those instructional materials that deal with world history should describe the balance between the power of the state and the rights of the citizens and should note the presence or absence of those practices that are associated with a democratic government.

Appendix B

Examples of Violations of Human Rights

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Chapter 5, "Surplus People: The Final Solution"
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Chapter 6, "Surplus People: The Pattern Continues"
(Retitled for California: "Totalitarian Violations
in Argentina, Cambodia, and South Africa")* 55

*Appreciation is extended to the Connecticut State Department of Education for permission to reprint portions of chapters 3, 5, and 6 of its Resource Guide, *Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality*, 1987. (NOTE: Reference numbers refer the reader to the bibliographical material in the original document, not to the Curriculum Resources in this model curriculum.)

Appendix B

Introduction

The items in Appendix B are vignettes that provide some background to teachers on issues and events of human rights and genocide. The vignettes are not meant to be inflammatory, to intrude on the rights of others, or to promote a hostile climate. These examples, selected because they serve to illustrate events in the curriculum described in the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve,* are not inclusive of all events identified in the framework or the many incidents of people's inhumanity to one another throughout ancient, medieval, and modern history. These examples are only representative, and they do not reflect all the information available on each issue or event. The extensive list of "Curriculum Resources" included in this document can be used by curriculum planners at the local level while they are designing curriculum or planning staff development.

When studying issues of human rights and genocide, students should constantly be reminded that events or violations of the past do not reflect on the present-day Americans who are descendants of nationalities whose governments were involved in violations. These Americans today should live in harmony, respect each other, and protect human rights as citizens in a democracy. The reaction to violations should not be further violations or acts of terrorism. There is no excuse for terrorist acts.

In addition, students should learn of the positive actions taken by brave and heroic individuals to protect human rights and prevent violations. These heroes and heroines, through their stories, provide role models for all citizens. Throughout the studies focus should not be lost on the objectives of the curriculum, which are the study of the record and the cause and effect of oppression of individuals and groups, the study of governmental means to prohibit abuses of human rights, the encouragement of democratic values and attitudes to foster respect for differences among people and for the rights of all people, and the responsibility of citizens in a democracy to work for human rights.

Through the study of history we can teach our students their rights and responsibilities and fill them with a feeling of hope for a better world.

> We're not the only people who have had to suffer. There have always been people who have had to. Sometimes one race, sometimes another, and yet—I know it's terrible trying to have faith, when people are doing such horrible. . . . But you know what I think sometimes? I think the world may be going through a phase, the way I was with Mother. It'll pass. Maybe not for hundreds of years, but someday. I still believe, in spite of everything, that people are really good at heart.—*THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK*

Chapter 3
Inhumanity: An Historical Overview

The following section is excerpted from Chapter 3 of *Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality*, published by the Connecticut State Department of Education.

Teaching Objective

Students will be able to cite examples of recent and past violations of human rights in the United States as well as in other nations.

Since the beginning of recorded history, and, we may assume, even before events were recorded, men, women and children have suffered mistreatment and death at the hands of their fellow human beings. The perpetrators and the victims have been found among all races, all nations, and all religions.

While humankind has made remarkable advances in knowledge and technology, we have not much improved our ability to live together peaceably. In fact, we continue to develop new and more powerful technologies for death and destruction. Today's biological and nuclear weapons give the world's superpowers and some smaller countries the capability of destroying all life on the planet. Moreover, the existence of powerful new weaponry should not overshadow the destructive power of conventional weapons and the suffering caused by primitive forms of physical torture.

Organizations such as Amnesty International which monitor human rights violations suggest that contemporary cases of "man's inhumanity to man," the violation of human rights, are actually on the rise.

An early war

A study of history shows a long progression of aggression and destructiveness which raises many difficult questions about human nature. It appears that human beings have always been warring creatures, taking up arms in the name of tribe, in the name of country and even in the name of religion.

When humans began to record history, much of the writing centered on war. The horrors of war were highlighted even then. Writing in the fifth century B.C. about the Peloponnesian War, a war between the Greek city-states Athens and Sparta which began over a dispute about trade routes, the Greek historian Thucydides lamented, "Never before had so many cities been captured and then devastated . . . never had there been so many exiles, never such loss of life." During this terrible war which lasted more than 70 years each side did all it could to annihilate the other.

The advance of civilization did not see an end to war. As in the case of the Peloponnesian War, nations continue to take up arms to gain trade routes, raw materials, land, or even people to supply cheap labor, or to force their religious or political ideologies on others.

Religious persecution

Horrible events have also been perpetrated in the name of religion. During the Medieval Period in Europe, Christianity, in the form of the Catholic Church, was the one "true" religion. The Church was the richest and most powerful institution in the Western world at that time and its influence dominated the lives of all from king to peasant. Yet despite its pervasive authority, there were people who refused to accept the Church's teachings. These people were called heretics.

The Church punished individual heretics throughout the Middle Ages. Special Church judges called Inquisitors would visit a community and give a series of talks on heresy. They would then ask the local people to report the names of those they suspected of holding heretical views. Everyone reported had to appear in an ecclesiastical court before the Inquisitors. Those who readily admitted to charges might receive a mild punishment, though sometimes their possessions were confiscated. Those who refused to admit to heresy, however, were commonly tortured. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* describes some of the forms of torture used on accused heretics:

> . . . flogging, burning, the rack, or solitary imprisonment in the dark and narrow dungeons. The feet of the accused might be slowly roasted over burning coals, or he might be bound upon a triangular frame and have his arms and legs pulled by cords wound on a windlass. Sometimes the diet was restricted to weaken the body and will of the imprisoned man, rendering him susceptible to such psychological tortures as alternative promises of mercies and threats of death.[8]

Many confessed under these tortures, though many of them were innocent. Those who admitted to heresy after torture were turned over to civil authorities to be put to death.

In the fifteenth century in Spain the Inquisition insisted on the religious conformity of all citizens. Formerly the Spanish had been among the most tolerant of Europeans; Christians, Moslems and Jews had managed to live together. During the Inquisition, however, Jews and Moslems were expelled from Spain, and those suspected of being Moriscos, Christians of Moorish background, or Marranos, Christians of Jewish background, were dragged before the courts. Thousands were arrested and tortured in efforts to force them to confess to being Jewish or Moslem sympathizers.

A more recent example of persecution in the name of religion was the partitioning of India in 1947. As the nations of India and Pakistan came into being, thousands of Hindus and Moslems slaughtered each other because of their religious differences. The struggles still go on in India today as the Hindus battle the Sikhs.

In Northern Ireland, Catholics and Protestants have been fighting for years and the end does not appear to be close at hand.

America's sad legacy

Certainly the participation of Americans in the slavery of Africans is a well-known and shameful chapter in our nation's history. Less well known is the fact that, during World War II, the United States totally ignored the rights of thousands of citizens simply because they were of Japanese descent. During the war a series of executive and military orders forced Japanese Americans, especially those living on the West Coast, into "relocation centers" where many were confined for periods of up to two

years. The lives of thousands of innocent people were disrupted and even destroyed without any pretense of legal due process. Few people spoke out in defense of the Japanese Americans. Even the Supreme Court hesitated to challenge the "military necessity" argument advanced by the government and the military. Only a few, such as Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson in his dissenting opinion in *Korematsu vs United States* (1944), objected to locking up American citizens in "concentration camps" simply because of their race.

Beginning with America's first settlements, American Indians lost their land and their lives, as colonists and settlers usurped the home of the native peoples to build a new nation. Some people say the treatment of Native Americans constitutes genocide. The army sometimes deliberately spread smallpox; they warred with superior weapons, moved large populations from fertile native lands to barren deserts and attempted to destroy native cultures. One early slaughter happened in Connecticut:

> . . . The Puritans of New England were not immediately presented with an Indian problem, for diseases introduced earlier by trading ships along the coast had badly decimated the Indian population. Yet when the Pequots resisted the migration of settlers into the Connecticut Valley in 1637, a party of Puritans surrounded the Pequot village and set fire to it. About five hundred Indians were burned or shot to death while trying to escape; the whites devoutly offered up thanks to God that they had lost only two men. The woods were then combed for any Pequots who had managed to survive, and these were sold into slavery. Cotton Mather was grateful to the Lord that "on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell."[9]

Americans held conflicting views about the Indians. The first settlers often thought Indians were not quite human. With closer observation, some people came to look upon them as "noble savage" survivors of an earlier time, before the corrupting influences of civilization. In time, Indians were viewed as human beings, though heathens, and there were efforts to convert the tribes to Christianity. But as settlers advanced westward and encountered tribes unwilling to give up their land, conflicts arose and Indians were most often viewed as bloodthirsty savages who must be eliminated.

In 1830 the United States Congress passed the Removal Act which gave the new president the right to move all Indians east of the Mississippi to territories in the West.

> . . . All in all, an estimated seventy thousand Indians are believed to have resettled west of the Mississippi, but the number may have been closer to one hundred thousand. No figures exist, though, as to the numbers massacred before they could be persuaded to leave the East, or on the tremendous losses suffered from disease, exposure, and starvation on the thousand-mile march westward across an unsettled and inhospitable land.[10]

The tragedy of the Indians did not end with this resettlement. No sooner were the Eastern Indians located in the West than America discovered the area's rich resources and expansion pushed into the region. Indians still stood in the way of the new nation's "manifest destiny." Treaties, nearly four hundred written by 1868, were broken one by one, and by the end of the nineteenth century the Indian realized that the white people could not be trusted. During the last decades of the century, Indians and whites warred incessantly, with terrible brutality by both sides. The whites, however, had the advantage and Indians continued to die.

The Plains Indians were the last obstacle to white control of the West. The seven tribes of the Teton Sioux, numbering about 16,000 in 1880, were placed on a reservation in South Dakota. There the military proceeded to "civilize" them. They were forced to give up their traditional economy and to become wards of the state. Children were put in white schools and parents who balked lost their food rations. Religious and political customs of the Sioux Indians were outlawed. The original treaty was broken and half their land was taken in return for food and money that was never delivered.

By the end of the century, often defeated, demoralized Indians were ready for the irrational hope offered by the Ghost Dance, a ritual first started by California tribes in the 1870s. The Ghost Dance, Indians believed, had the power to alleviate their miserable state. The last of the Ghost Dances started in 1890 when an Indian, Wovoka, reported that in a dream, which he experienced in a trance during a solar eclipse God told him that if Indians danced the Ghost Dance, dead Indians would come back to life. To whites, and especially to the U. S. Army, the Ghost Dance was symbolic of Indian resistance, and though it did not encourage Indians to fight, because they believed a miracle would save them, it was seen as a threatening activity.

This fear of the Ghost Dance may explain, in part, what happened during an encounter at Wounded Knee, South Dakota on December 29, 1890 between a cavalry unit and a band of Indians, 120 men and 230 women and children, led by Sioux Chief Big Foot. The Indians were on the way to the Pine Ridge reservation in North Dakota when they met four cavalry units which were under orders to capture Big Foot because he was considered one of the "fomenters of disturbances." The Indians immediately hoisted a white flag to indicate they would not fight. They were taken to an army camp on Wounded Knee Creek.

As the soldiers ordered the Indians to give up their arms, the medicine man, Yellow Bird, started the Ghost Dance urging his tribesmen to join him chanting in Sioux, "The bullets will not go toward you." When one young Indian initially refused to give up his rifle, the soldiers opened fire. Only a few Indians had arms and most tried to flee the gunfire. "We tried to run," Louise Weasel Bear said, "but they shot us like we were buffalo. I know there are some good white people, but the soldiers must be mean to shoot children and women. Indian soldiers would not do that to white children."[11]

At the end of the attack, 153 Indians were left dead in the field, but one estimate placed the actual number killed at 300 since many of the wounded crawled away and died soon after. Wounded Knee signalled the end of the Ghost Dance and was, in a very real sense, also the end of the Indians' courageous stand against an invading force. Years later, the revered Sioux medicine man, Black Elk, who witnessed the tragic event said:

> I did not know how much was ended. When I look back from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in that bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream . . . the nation's hope is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.[12]

The Armenian Genocide

The "forgotten genocide"

The general public and even many historians know very little about the genocide of Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire. Civilian populations have often fallen victim to the brutality of invading armies, bombing raids, lethal substances, and other forms of indiscriminate killings. In the Armenian case, however, the government of the Ottoman Empire, dominated by the so-called Committee of Union and Progress or Young Turk Party, turned against a segment of its own population. In international law there were certain accepted laws and customs of war that were aimed in some measure at protecting civilian populations, but these did not cover domestic situations or a government's treatment of its own people. Only after World War II and the Holocaust was that aspect included in the United Nations' Genocide Convention. Nonetheless, at the time of the Armenian deportations and massacres beginning in 1915, many governments and statespersons termed the atrocities as crimes against humanity.

Except for the Young Turk leaders, no government denied or doubted what was occurring. The governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary, while allied with the Ottoman Empire, received hundreds of detailed eyewitness accounts from their officials on the spot and privately admitted that the Armenians were being subjected to a policy of annihilation. In the United States charity drives began for the remnants of the "starving Armenians." Examples of headlines from the *New York Times* in 1915 read: "[Ambassador Morgenthau] Protests Against the War of Extermination in Progress" (September 16); "Only 200,000 Armenians Now Left in Turkey: More than 1,000,000 Killed, Enslaved, or Exiled" (October 22); "Five Missionaries Succumb to Shock of Armenian Horrors" (November 3); "Million Armenians Killed or in Exile: American Committee on Relief Says. Victims . . . Steadily Increasing" (December 15). Between 1915 and 1918, hundreds of declarations, promises, and pledges were made by world leaders regarding the emancipation, restitution, and rehabilitation of the Armenian survivors. Yet, within a few years those same governments and statespersons turned away from the Armenian question without having fulfilled any of those pledges. And, after a few more years, the Armenian calamity had virtually become "the forgotten genocide."

History of the Armenians

The Armenians are an ancient people. They inhabited the highland region between the Black, Caspian, and Mediterranean seas for nearly 3,000 years. They are noted in Greek and Persian sources as early as the sixth century B.C. On a strategic crossroad between East and West, Armenia was sometimes independent under its national dynasties, sometimes autonomous under native princes who paid tribute to foreign powers, and sometimes subjected to direct foreign rule. The Armenians were among the first people to adopt Christianity and to develop a distinct national-religious culture.

The Turkish invasions of Armenia began in the eleventh century A.D., and the last Armenian kingdom fell three centuries later. Most of the territories that had once formed the ancient and medieval Armenian kingdoms were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. The Armenians were included in a multinational and multireligious realm, but as a Christian minority they had to endure official discrimination and second-class citizenship, including special taxes, inadmissibility of legal testimony, and the prohibition on bearing arms.

Despite these disabilities, most Armenians lived in relative peace so long as the Ottoman Empire was strong and expanding. But as the empire's administrative, fiscal, and military structure crumbled under the weight of internal corruption and external challenges in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, oppression and intolerance increased. The breakdown of order was accelerated by Ottoman inability to modernize and compete with the West.

The decay of the Ottoman Empire was paralleled by cultural and political revival among many of the subject peoples. The national liberation struggles, supported at times by one or another European power, resulted in Turkish loss of Greece and most of the Balkan provinces in the nineteenth century and aggravated the Eastern Question; that is, what was to happen to the enervated empire and its constituent peoples. A growing number of Ottoman liberals came to believe that the empire's survival depended on effective administration reforms. These men were movers behind several significant reform measures promulgated between 1839 and 1876. Yet time and again the advocates of reform became disillusioned in the face of the entrenched, vested interests that stubbornly resisted change.

Of the various subject peoples, the Armenians perhaps sought the least. Unlike the Balkan Christians or the Arabs, they were dispersed throughout the empire and no longer constituted an absolute majority in much of their historic homelands. Hence, most Armenian leaders did not think in terms of independence. Expressing loyalty to the sultan and disavowing any separatist aspirations, they petitioned for the protection of their people and property from corrupt officials and marauding bands. The Armenians had passed through a long period of cultural revival. Thousands of youngsters enrolled in elementary and secondary schools, and hundreds of students traveled to Europe for higher education. Many returned home imbued with ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution to engage in teaching, journalism, and literary criticism. As it happened, however, this Armenian self-discovery was paralleled by heightened administrative corruption and exploitation. It was this dual development, the conscious demand for enlightened government and security of life on the one hand and the growing repression and insecurity on the other, that gave rise to the Armenian Question as a part of the larger Eastern Question. Some Armenians gave up hope that reforms could be achieved peaceably. They organized underground political parties and encouraged the population to learn to defend itself.

Massacres: Preface to genocide

During the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II (1876–1909), a new reform measure relating specifically to the Armenians was promulgated under pressure from the European powers. However, European interest was inconsistent,

and foreign intervention unsustained by effective measures to oversee the implementation of the reforms only compounded Armenian troubles. Beginning in the mountainous district of Sassun in 1894 and then spreading to every province inhabited by Armenians in 1895 and 1896, pogroms organized by the sultan's agents resulted in the deaths of up to 200,000 Armenians, the flight into exile of thousands more, and the looting and burning or forced conversion of hundreds of towns and villages.

Lord Kinross, the author of several books on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, has described how the organizers of the massacres exploited religious sentiment:

> Their tactics were based on the Sultan's principle of kindling religious fanaticism among the Moslem population. Abdul Hamid briefed agents, whom he sent to Armenia with specific instructions as to how they should act. It became their normal routine first to assemble the Moslem population in the largest mosque in a town, then to declare, in the name of the Sultan, that the Armenians were in general revolt with the aim of striking at Islam. Their Sultan enjoined them as good Moslems to defend their faith against these infidel rebels. . . . Each operation, between the bugle calls, followed a similar pattern. First into a town there came the Turkish troops, for the purpose of massacres; then came the Kurdish irregulars and tribesmen for the purpose of plunder. Finally came the holocaust, by fire and destruction, which spread, with the pursuit of fugitives and mopping-up operations, throughout the lands and villages of the surrounding province. This murderous winter of 1895 thus saw the decimation of much of the Armenian population and the devastation of their property in some 20 districts of eastern Turkey.

The sultan's use of violent methods was a desperate attempt to maintain the status quo in the face of severe external and internal challenges. In this regard, a major difference between Abdul-Hamid and his Young Turk successors was that he unleashed massacres in an effort to preserve a state structure in which the Armenians would be kept submissive and unable to resist tyrannical rule, whereas the Young Turks were to employ the same tactics on a much grander scale to bring about fundamental and far-reaching changes in the status quo and create an entirely new frame of reference that did not include the Armenians at all.

The Young Turk dictatorship

Disillusion weighed heavily on the Armenians after the calamities of 1894–1896, yet some comfort was found in the fact that various non-Armenian elements were also trying to organize against the sultan's tyranny. Several of those opposition groups merged into the Committee of Union and Progress, popularly referred to as the Young Turks. In 1908 a military coup led by the Young Turks forced Abdul-Hamid to become a constitutional monarch. The Armenians hailed the victory of Young Turks amid manifestations of Christian and Muslim Ottoman brotherhood.

From 1908–1914 the seemingly egalitarian Young Turks became xenophobic nationalists bent on creating a new order and eliminating the Armenian Question by eliminating the Armenian people. European exploitation of Turkish weaknesses after the 1908 revolution and the Turkish loss of more territory in the Balkans contributed to this process. In 1909 more than 20,000 Armenians were massacred in the region of Cilicia. The Young Turks blamed

Abdul-Hamid and deposed him, but there were strong indications that adherents of the Young Turks had themselves participated in the carnage. The crisis prompted the Young Turks to declare a state of siege and suspend constitutional rights for several years.

It was during this period that the concept of "Turkism" and exclusive nationalism attracted several prominent Young Turks, who began to envisage a new, homogeneous Turkish state in place of the enervated and exploited multinational Ottoman Empire. With the ideology of Turkism expounded by writers such as Zia Gokalp, the Young Turk extremists began to contemplate ways to abandon multinational "Ottomanism" for exclusivist "Turkism" and so transform the Ottoman Empire into a homogeneous Turkish domain.

In a study of the development of Turkish nationalism, Uriel Heyd notes that in "replacing the belief in God by the belief in nation," for Gokalp, "nationalism had become a religion." Regarding the nation, Gokalp wrote:

> I am a soldier; it is my commander
> I obey without question all its orders
> With closed eyes I carry out my duty.

Professor Robert Melson has summarized this attitude: "Simply put, the good without limit is the good of the nation and for its sake all is permissible." Despite the ominous circumstances, Armenian leaders continued to hope that satisfactory reforms and equality could be achieved within the structure of the Ottoman Empire.

The outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 deeply alarmed the Armenians. If the Ottoman Empire entered the conflict on the side of Germany, the Armenian plateau would become the inevitable theater of another Russo-Turkish war. In view of the fact that the Armenian homelands lay on both sides of the frontier, the Armenians would suffer severely no matter who might eventually win the war. For these reasons, Armenian spokespersons implored the Young Turk leaders to maintain neutrality and spare the empire from disaster. Despite these appeals, the Germanophile Young Turk faction, led by Minister of War Enver Pasha and Minister of Internal Affairs Talaat Pasha, sealed a secret alliance with Berlin and in return for joining the war against Great Britain, France, and Russia, looked to the creation of a new Turkish realm extending into Central Asia. The Armenians were now seen as an obstacle to the realization of that goal. Turkism was to supplant Ottomanism and give purpose and justification to unlimited violence for the greater good of producing a homogeneous state and society. In *Accounting for Genocide*, Helen Fen concluded:

> The victims of twentieth century premeditated genocide—the Jew, the Gypsies, the Armenians—were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order. . . . War was used in both cases . . . to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating the groups conceived as alien, enemies by definition.

The genocidal process

On the night of April 23-24, 1915, Armenian political, religious, educational, and intellectual leaders in Constantinople (Istanbul) were arrested, deported into Anatolia, and put to death. In May, after mass deportations had

already begun, Minister of Internal Affairs Talaat Pasha, claiming that the Armenians were untrustworthy, could offer aid and comfort to the enemy, and were in a state of imminent rebellion, ordered *ex post facto* their deportation from the war zones to relocation centers– actually the barren deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. The Armenians were driven out, not only from areas near war zones but from the length and breadth of the empire, except in Constantinople and Smyrna, where numerous foreign diplomats and merchants were located. Sometimes Armenian Catholics and Protestants were exempted from the deportation decrees, only to follow once the majority belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church had been dispatched. Secrecy, surprise, and deception were all part of the process.

The whole of Asia Minor was put in motion. Armenians serving in the Ottoman armies had already been segregated into unarmed labor battalions and were now taken out in batches and murdered. Of the remaining population, the adult and teenage males were, as a pattern, swiftly separated from the deportation caravans and killed outright under the direction of Young Turk agents, the gendarmerie, and bandit and nomadic groups prepared for the operation. Women and children were driven for months over mountains and deserts. Intentionally deprived of food and water, they fell by the thousands and the hundreds of thousands along the routes to the desert. In this manner the Armenian people were effectively eliminated from their homeland of several millennia. Of the refugee survivors scattered throughout the Arab provinces and the Caucasus, thousands more were to die of starvation, epidemic, and exposure. Even the memory of the nation was intended for obliteration, as churches and cultural monuments were desecrated and small children, snatched from their parents, were renamed and given out to be raised as non-Armenians and non-Christians.

The following excerpt from a report of the Italian consul-general at Trebizond typifies the hundreds of eyewitness accounts by foreign officials:

> The passing of gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15,000 troops in complete war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers, and by the members of the "Committee of Union and Progress"; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantaneous deaths from sheer terror; the sudden unhinging of men's reason; the conflagration; the shooting of victims in the city; the ruthless searches through the houses and in the countryside; the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road; the young women converted by force to Islam or exiled like the rest; the children torn away from their families and from the Christian schools and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by the hundreds on board ship in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Deyirmen Dere– these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond, memories which still, at a month's distance, torment my soul and almost drive me frantic.

Henry Morgenthau, Sr., the American Ambassador to Turkey at the time, tried to reason with the Young Turk leaders and to alert the United States and the world to the tragic events, but, except for some donations for relief efforts, his actions were in vain. His description of the genocide begins:

> The Central Government now announced its intention of gathering the two million or more Armenians living in the several sections of the empire and

> transporting them to this desolate and inhospitable region. Had they undertaken such a deportation in good faith, it would have represented the height of cruelty and injustice. As a matter of fact, the Turks never had the slightest idea of reestablishing the Armenians in this new country. . . . The real purpose of the deportation was robbery and destruction; it really represented a new method of massacre. When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to the whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.

Ambassador Morgenthau concluded:

> I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no terrible episode as this.

Estimates of the Armenian dead vary from 600,000 to two million. A United Nations Human Rights Subcommission report in 1985 gives the figure of "at least one million," but the important point in understanding a tragedy such as this is not the exact and precise count of the number who died—that will never be known—but the fact that more than half the Armenian population perished and the rest were forcibly driven from their ancestral homeland. Another important point is that what befell the Armenians was by the will of the government. While a large segment of the general population participated in the looting and massacres, many Muslim leaders were shocked by what was happening, and thousands of Armenian women and children were rescued and sheltered by compassionate individual Turks, Kurds, and Arabs.

Although the decimation of the Armenian people and the destruction of millions of persons in Central and Eastern Europe during the Nazi regime a quarter of a century later each had particular and unique features, there were some striking parallels. The similarities include the perpetration of genocide under the cover of a major international conflict, thus minimizing the possibility of external intervention; conception of the plan by a monolithic and xenophobic clique; espousal of an ideology giving purpose and justification to racism, exclusivism, and intolerance toward elements resisting or deemed unworthy of assimilation; imposition of strict party discipline and secrecy during the period of preparation; formation of extralegal special armed forces to ensure the rigorous execution of the operation; provocation of public hostility toward the victim group and ascribing to it the very excesses to which it would be subjected; certainty of the vulnerability of the targeted groups (demonstrated in the Armenian case by the previous massacres of 1894–1896 and 1909); exploitation of advances in mechanization and communication to achieve unprecedented means for control, coordination, and thoroughness; and the use of sanctions such as promotions and incentive to loot or, conversely, the dismissal and punishment of reluctant officials and the intimidation of persons who might consider harboring members of the victim group.

The aftermath

The defeat of the Ottoman Empire and its allies at the end of 1918 raised the possibility of enacting the numerous pledges concerning the punishment of the perpetrators and the rehabilitation of the Armenian survivors. After the Young Turk leaders had fled the country, the new Turkish prime minister admitted that the Turks had committed such misdeeds "as to make the conscience of mankind shudder forever." United States General James G.

Harbord, after an inspection tour of the former Armenian population centers in 1919, reported on the organized nature of the massacres and concluded: "Mutilation, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages." The Paris Peace Conference declared that the lands of Armenia would never be returned to Turkish rule, and a Turkish military courtmartial tried and sentenced to death in absentia Enver, Talaat, Kjemal, and Dr. Nazim, notorious organizers of the genocide. No attempt was made to carry out the sentence, however, and thousands of other culprits were neither tried nor even removed from office. Within a few months the judicial proceedings were suspended, and even accused and imprisoned war criminals were freed and sent home.

The release of the perpetrators of genocide signaled a major shift in the political winds. The former Allied Powers, having become bitter rivals over the spoils of war, failed to act in unison in imposing peace or in dealing with the stiff resistance of a Turkish nationalist movement. They concurred that the Armenians should be freed and rehabilitated but took no effective measure to achieve that objective. They hoped that the United States would extend a protectorate over the devastated Armenian regions, but the United States was recoiling from its involvement in the world war and turning its back on the League of Nations. Unable to quell the Turkish nationalist movement, which rejected the award of any territory for an Armenian state or even unrestricted return of the Armenian refugees, the Allied Powers in 1923 made their peace with the new Turkey. No provision was made for the rehabilitation, restitution, or compensation of the Armenian survivors. Western abandonment of the Armenians was so complete that the revised peace treaties included no mention whatsoever of "Armenians" or "Armenia." It was as if the Armenians had never existed in the Ottoman Empire. All Armenians who had returned to their homes after the war were again uprooted and driven into exile. The 3,000-year presence of the Armenians in Asia Minor came to a violent end. Armenian place-names were changed, and Armenian cultural monuments were obliterated or allowed to fall into disrepair. Attempts to eliminate the memory of Armenia included change of the geographical expression "Armenian plateau" to "Eastern Anatolia." The Armenian survivors were condemned to a life of exile and dispersion, being subjected to inevitable acculturation and assimilation on five continents and facing an increasingly indifferent world. With the consolidation of totalitarian regimes in Europe during the 1920s and 1930s, memory of the Armenian cataclysm gradually faded, and in the aftermath of the horrors and havoc of World War II, it virtually became the "forgotten genocide."

In recent years, growing awareness of the Holocaust and commitment to the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide has again raised the Armenian Genocide to the level of consciousness among educators, scholars, and defenders of human rights. The transgenerational trauma of the Armenian people is beginning to be understood, and various official and unofficial bodies have called on the present government of the Republic of Turkey to recognize the injustice perpetrated against the Armenians by previous Turkish governments.

Why remember?

Students must learn the importance of and reasons for remembering the genocide of the Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire. They

should consider whether it is possible for dispossessed peoples who have no sovereign state or government of their own to place their case before national and international bodies that operate within the framework of nation-states. How is it possible to seek legal recourse, to have truth prevail over perceived national interests, and to liberate history from politics?

In a thoughtful essay, Terrence Des Pres, author of *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* and member of the United States Holocaust Council, has captured the importance of remembering:

> Milan Kundera, the exiled Czech novelist, has written that "the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." This single remark, in my view, sums up the human predicament today and puts the burden of responsibility exactly where it falls—on writers, and now more than ever, on scholars. . . . National catastrophes can be survived if (and perhaps only if) those to whom disaster happens can recover themselves through knowing the truth of their suffering. Great powers, on the other hand, would vanquish not only the peoples they subjugate but also the cultural mechanism that would sustain vital memory of historical crimes.

When modern states make way for geopolitical power plays, they are not above removing everything—nations, cultures, homelands—in their paths. Great powers regularly demolish other peoples' claims to dignity and place, and sometimes, as we know, the outcome is genocide. In a very real sense, therefore, Kundera is right: Against historical crimes we fight as best we can, and a cardinal part of this engagement is "the struggle of memory against forgetting."

The Ukrainian Genocide

Genocide by a leftist government

Even less known than the Armenian Genocide is the famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine, during which five to seven million Ukrainians died because of official Soviet policies that created a famine artificially. The Jewish Holocaust was committed by a Fascist totalitarian dictatorship in the name of racial purity. The Armenian Genocide was committed by an authoritarian dictatorship determined to transform a traditional multinational dynastic entity into a powerful modern state by destroying a nation that the leadership viewed as a hindrance to the power of that state. The Ukrainian Genocide was committed by a Communist totalitarian government which considered the Ukrainians a hindrance to the achievement of that regime's goals. Contrasting and comparing the Jewish, Armenian, and Ukrainian case studies is thus important in demonstrating the universality of genocide and collective victimization in the twentieth century. The Ukrainian famine falls within the definition of genocide provided by international convention in that actions defined by convention as genocidal were committed *with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group* as follows:

1. *Killing members of the group.* Members of specifically targeted groups (Ukrainians, Cossacks, and Soviet Germans) perished because of an official policy of seizing foodstuffs at a time when clear warnings of impending famine had been received by responsible Soviet officials, and the outbreak of mass starvation was followed by the intensification of such seizures. Moreover, this policy was accomplished by mass executions of Ukrainian national elites and the reversal of Soviet nationality policy from one which attempted to gain a measure of national legitimacy among non-Russians by means of officially sponsoring their national cultural development to one of suppressing every attempt at non-Russian national cultural self-assertion.

2. *Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.* Those who survived the famine suffered all the bodily harm of starvation, and many suffered physical and emotional abuse in the course of grain searches and seizures carried out in conditions of extreme brutality. Survivors also suffered and often continue to suffer from their emotional traumatization.

3. *Creating a famine that would not have occurred in the absence of compulsory grain seizures in the Ukrainian SSR and the North Caucasus.* This action constitutes *deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.*

Intent is implicit in the policy of seizing foodstuffs from the starving and in official attempts to prevent the starving from migrating from Ukraine and the North Caucasus to Russia where food was available and to prevent food being carried into Ukraine by Soviet citizens traveling there from other parts of the

USSR. Intent is also implicit in the Soviet government's vehement denials of the existence of famine at the time it occurred and its rejection of all famine relief offered by private individuals and organizations, as well as the export for sale abroad of roughly 1.7 million metric tons of grain at the height of the mass starvation.

Ukraine and the Ukrainians

Ukraine, presently constituted as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR), has a territory of 232,000 square miles, slightly more than that of France, and in 1979 had 49.6 million inhabitants, of whom 73.6 percent were Ukrainians. Ukrainians speak a Slavic language, as do most other East Europeans. The Ukrainian language differs from Russian and Polish about as much as Portuguese does from Castilian Spanish. Ukrainians possess a distinct national culture and historical experience. The total number of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, according to the 1979 Soviet census, was 42.3 million. This makes the Ukrainians the most numerous of all the Slavic nations except for the Great Russians (137.4 million). The UkSSR is located north of the Black Sea and borders (clockwise from the Black Sea) on the Moldavian SSR, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Byelorussian SSR, and the Russian SFSR (RSFSR). It is one of the USSR's 15 constituent Soviet Socialist Republics and has a seat in the United Nations.

The World War I ended in the successive collapse of the dynastic states which had for centuries dominated Eastern Europe: Imperial Russia, Ottoman Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. (Just as Russians were a relatively small minority in Western Imperial Russia, the Germans were a minority in the eastern borderlands of the German Empire.) As each of these states disintegrated in turn, nations between the Russians and Germans which had not enjoyed political independence for centuries reasserted themselves. Imperial Russia collapsed first in 1917, and such hitherto foreign-ruled peoples as the Finns, Poles (who were also divided with Germany and Austria-Hungary), Baltic nations, Byelorussians, nations of the Caucasus, and Ukrainians set up national councils that moved toward complete national independence. Such movements differed very little from their more successful counterparts to the west, which arose in the wake of the 1918 upheaval.

It seemed that each people had a different idea of what a nation could legitimately claim. No one could agree on where the borders between nations ought to be drawn. Conflicts were inevitable. Many Poles, for example, understood Poland as a historico-cultural community that ought to extend eastward far beyond the point where Poles constituted the majority of the population. They believed that the territories that were part of the "historic" Poland before 1772 ought to be part of the reborn Polish state. Others argued on the basis of strategic or economic imperatives. The Czechs, for example, argued that Czecho-Slovakia (only later was the hyphen dropped) could be viable only if it included the mountainous western rim of Bohemia, the population of which was overwhelmingly German, and certain ethnically Polish coal-mining border regions.

Ukrainians, though more numerous than any of the East European peoples who did achieve independence, were hampered by the fact that Ukraine's cities were largely inhabited by non-Ukrainians. In Western Ukraine,

for example, the city of Lviv (which the Poles called Lwow, the Russians Lvov, and the Germans Lemberg) had more Polish inhabitants than Ukrainians, and Poland claimed the city on this basis. But this same city was located in an area where Ukrainians outnumbered Poles rather substantially.

In most of Ukraine, which had been ruled by Russia, the bulk of the urban dwellers considered themselves Russians, and most Russians considered Ukrainians to be "Little Russians" who were merely a branch of a larger Russian nation composed of both peoples along with the Byelorussians (or White Ruthenians). Most Ukrainians disagreed, and few Ukrainians wanted to be ruled by either Russians or Poles, the rival claimants for their territories. Elections were held in 1917-18 to the All-Russian and All-Ukrainian constituent assemblies. These were the only free elections ever held in this part of the world, and the majority of votes each time were cast for political parties committed to the pursuit of Ukrainian home rule. Immediately after the fall of the imperial government in March, 1917, these parties had established the Ukrainian Central Rada (council) in Kiev; and in the summer of that year, the Rada was recognized by the Russian Provisional Government as the official organ of Ukrainian territorial autonomy. After the Bolsheviks seized power in November, the Rada proclaimed the Ukrainian National (or People's) Republic (UNR), and on January 22, 1918, declared the UNR to be sovereign and independent.

The UNR was a democratic and somewhat socialist republic which guaranteed full national cultural autonomy to the one-fifth of its citizens who were members of various minority nationalities, principally the Russians, Jews, and Poles. On January 22, 1919, union was proclaimed with the Western Ukrainian Peoples Republic, which had been established in the part of Ukraine that had been ruled by Austria-Hungary.

Ukraine under the Soviets

The Ukrainians had to fight on several fronts against Russian Bolsheviks, Russian anti-Bolsheviks, and Poles. Law and order broke down completely. By the spring of 1919, hundreds of marauding bands led by warlords or *otamans* roamed the countryside, fighting one another and switching sides among the major rivals with impunity. Ukraine's large Jewish community suffered terrible pogroms that the UNR authorities were helpless to prevent. By the beginning of 1921, the bulk of the country was in the hands of the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, while smaller parts of Ukraine were ruled by Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. The Bolshevik Party officially changed its name to the Russian Communist Party and at the end of 1922 forced the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, which it had set up, to join with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and other parts of the old Russian Empire that it had reconquered to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Ukrainians, as well as the other former subject nations of Russia whom the Communists ruled, had been militarily defeated but remained restive. Lenin was forced to grant concessions. In 1921 the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party proclaimed the New Economic Policy (NEP), guaranteeing the peasantry the right to their own individual farms and the right to sell what they produced on them. In 1923 the Twelfth Party Congress proclaimed a new policy of indigenization, which called for official sponsorship

of non-Russian national cultural activities and the active recruitment of non-Russians into the Party and state apparatuses.

Since the non-Russians were overwhelmingly rural, the two policies, NEP and indigenization, were but two sides of the same coin. As Stalin once wrote, "The nationality problem is *by the essence of the matter* a problem of the peasantry." Official sponsorship of scholarship and the arts bore an extraordinarily rich harvest. Schools that used Ukrainian as the primary language of instruction, illegal before 1917 and begun under the UNR, were greatly expanded. The language was standardized, and millions of people became literate in it. There were even attempts to teach workers at the bench and peasants at the plow to write poetry. Ukrainian, often dismissed only a few years earlier as a "peasant tongue," now became a vehicle in which one could explain and discuss the latest cultural and scientific developments from cinematic technique to Einstein's theories. Ukraine's cities, hitherto Russian-speaking islands in the sea of Ukrainian speakers, were gradually Ukrainized. By 1930 a majority of Ukraine's industrial workers spoke Ukrainian, and the main daily newspapers in all the country's major cities were published in Ukrainian. The regime in the UkSSR gradually became largely autonomous, and even Communist spokespersons called for greater autonomy vis-a-vis the central authorities in Moscow. Would such a rapidly developing nation remain content with its dependent political status in the Soviet Union or would the old goal of full political independence reassert itself with even greater force than in the past? Those who ruled the Soviet Union might well have wondered.

The last Soviet census before the famine was that of 1926. At that time the population of the USSR was 147 million of whom 77.8 million were Great Russians, 31.2 million were Ukrainians, and the remaining 38 million were spread among roughly one hundred smaller national groups, of which 4.7 million Byelorussians constituted the largest group. The population of the RSFSR was then 92.7 million, the UkSSR's 29.5 million, and the remaining SSRs (as now constituted but within the pre-1939 USSR borders) together possessed 24.8 million inhabitants. Since some of the SSRs which exist today were then still part of the RSFSR, such a picture actually understates the UkSSR's predominance among the non-Russian SSRs. At the time of the famine, despite the fact that the western fifth of Ukraine was not part of the USSR, Ukrainians constituted almost half of the USSR's non-Russians and the population of the UkSSR greatly exceeded that of all other non-Russian SSRs combined. Moreover, Ukraine then produced most of the Soviet Union's exportable wheat as well as most of its iron and steel. Despite decades of Soviet economic policy favoring new investment in the Ural Mountains region and Western Siberia over the construction of new facilities in Ukraine, even today the UkSSR, if it were independent, would constitute one of the ten largest economic powers in the world.

For this reason, nationality policy in early Soviet history largely revolved around the issue of how to deal with the Ukrainians. If indigenization was based on NEP, that base crumbled at the end of 1929 when Joseph Stalin gained absolute power in the USSR and proclaimed a policy of the forced crash collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization was bitterly opposed by the peasantry, especially in Ukraine and the North Caucasus, where serfdom had been brief and independent proprietorship was strongly ingrained in the rural mind. It meant that those who tilled the soil no longer controlled what they

produced. Collectivization was carried out "on the basis of the liquidation of the *kulaks* (so-called village exploiters but actually anyone the regime considered unreliable) as a class." According to official Soviet figures, 200,000 Ukrainian farm families or about one million people were "dekulakized" or expropriated. The true figure is a matter of speculation. At the same time Stalin began to chip away at Ukrainian autonomism with the "discovery" of anti-Soviet conspiracies among Ukraine's leading scholars and cultural activists. As early as 1920 thousands were arrested in connection with the first such conspiracy, the so-called Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. Whole departments of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were closed after their members were arrested, and Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly (church independence) was brought to an end in 1920, ostensibly because of church involvement in this alleged plot.

Genocide

The essence of collectivization was the compulsory delivery to the state of whatever quantity of produce the state demanded. The so-called first commandment of Soviet agriculture enshrined the principle that all obligations to the state, as the state set them, had to be met before anything could be given to the peasants. Production declined while the state's demands remained far in excess of what the peasants had ever sold voluntarily. By the beginning of 1932, collectivization in Ukraine was virtually complete: 69 percent of all rural households and 80 percent of all farmland had been collectivized. Repeated extraction had exhausted Ukraine's agriculture, and by the summer Ukraine's Communists spoke openly of "food supply difficulties" and lobbied unsuccessfully for relief from the exactions demanded by Moscow.

After the 1932 harvest the Ukrainian Communists carried out the grain seizures that brought about the mass starvation of which they had warned. The famine was created on a territorial basis, and its victims included members of Ukraine's minorities as well as Ukrainians.

In late 1932 measures against the so-called tight-fisted became ever more severe. Local officials who were found insufficiently resolute in what the press daily called "the struggle for bread" were arrested. As early as October, Stalin began to appoint his own men to "strengthen" the Ukrainian apparatus by occupying high posts in the UkSSR. In December whole districts (*rajons*) were subject to economic blockade, and both the food for current needs and the seed for the next year's harvest were seized in the course of exacting house-to-house searches. Many people died, and outbreaks of cannibalism were reported. Officials in Ukraine kept Moscow fully informed of the situation.

Stalin's response came in the form of two resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. On December 13, 1932, the Ukrainian authorities were ordered to purge all "national deviationists" (i.e., nationally minded Communists) in their midst. On January 24, 1933, a second decree found the Ukrainian authorities criminally negligent, and Stalin sent his own satrap, Pavel Postyshev, to take direct control of the Ukrainian Party organization and to occupy with new men virtually every important post in the country. The new regime under Postyshev condemned the old for wavering in the struggle for bread, ordered the grain seizures intensified, and combatted the "serious evil" of produce being diverted from the state procurements for such unauthorized uses as food and seed. As a result of this policy of intensified

searches and seizures of foodstuffs, a policy for which the Moscow Central Committee and Stalin personally were responsible, the famine reached its height in the spring of 1933. At the same time, the nationally minded wing of the Communist Party of Ukraine was purged, and often its members were arrested as spies and wreckers. All manifestations of Ukrainian cultural distinctiveness were suppressed. The study of Ukrainian history disappeared for a generation. Even the spelling rules of the Ukrainian language were changed in order to bring the language closer to Russian, while those responsible for the Ukrainian cultural attainments of the 1920s were arrested. Ukrainization was abandoned and replaced by a policy of Russification.

The Stalin-Postyshev policy of the 1930s may be summarized as follows:

1. The destruction of the Ukrainian national cultural leadership, the non-Communist institutions in which they functioned, and their attainments

2. The destruction of the nationally minded Communist elite

3. The abandonment of Ukrainization and reinstitution of Russification in cities, which pushed Ukrainian national culture out of the cities and back to the countryside whence it had come

4. The government-created famine, which dealt a body blow to the traditional mass constituency of Ukrainian national self-assertion, the Ukrainian villages

All this may be summarized as part of an attempt to neutralize the Ukrainian nation as a political factor within the Soviet Union by destroying it as a sociological entity.

Chapter 5

The Holocaust: Genocide Against the Jews*

Teaching Objective

Students will understand: the nature of antisemitism and how it led to the systematic suppression of rights and freedoms that preceded the Final Solution; the nature of the Final Solution; the failure of governments and religious organizations to take decisive stands on behalf of the victims; and the moral courage of those who risked their lives to oppose Nazism.

Hitler and Nazi Germany formulated two goals from 1939–1945: a military victory over the Allied nations, including the United States; and genocide against the Jewish people. The Germans called this latter plan the "Final Solution." By the end of World War II, approximately 11 million civilians died, among them six million Jews.

Nazism built on a tradition of European antisemitism. The idea of pluralism—that all religions should peacefully coexist—was not a value in premodern time (before the eighteenth century). Thus, premodern antisemitism took the form of accusations against the Jews for not accepting Christianity as a true religion.

Modern antisemitism, by contrast, entails the notion that Jews have assimilated into society only to manipulate it through the control of wealth and power. Further, the Nazis added a *racial* dimension to this theory: they claimed that Jews carry within them a hereditary inferiority which, like a germ, could be passed to the German people. Hitler exploited this form of antisemitism to rally the German people. The Nazis also applied the racist idea of innate inferiority to Slavs, Gypsies, blacks, and others whom they considered "antisocial." The German people were especially vulnerable to this kind of demagoguery in the aftermath of World War I. The German nation was economically destitute and was experiencing for the first time in its political history a democratic form of government. There were many forces within Germany that wished to dismantle this government that had been imposed on them by the Allies.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews dated from the first days of Hitler's rule. April 1, 1933 marked the beginning of government-initiated boycotts of Jewish shops, lawyers and doctors. By September 1935 the Nazis had passed laws which deprived Jews of German citizenship and outlawed marriage between Jews and Christians. The Nazis, apparently aware that their treatment of Jews could not be condoned by democratic nations, relaxed many of the anti-Jewish "Nuremberg Laws" during the summer of 1936 when the Olympic games were held in Berlin. When the Olympic events were over, however, harsh treatment was revived and intensified.

*This chapter is taken from the Connecticut document, with the exception of the title, the teaching objective, and paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 16 (as noted by the type style).

On November 10, 1938, the anti-Semitic campaign came to a head when the Gestapo organized "spontaneous" anti-Jewish demonstrations throughout Germany. Great violence broke out. Synagogues, shops and homes were smashed, burned and looted. The Nazi plan called for arresting "as many Jews, especially the rich ones . . . as can be accommodated in the existing prisons . . . . Upon their arrest, the appropriate concentration camps should be contacted immediately, in order to confine them in these camps as soon as possible."[30] When the night was over, a high-ranking Nazi official reported "815 shops destroyed, 171 dwelling houses set on fire . . . 119 synagogues were (also) set on fire, and 76 completely destroyed . . . 20,000 Jews were arrested."[31]

After "Crystal Night," as that November 10th came to be called because of all the glass that was shattered, there was never again such a public display of random violence against Jews. However, systematic plans went into effect and from that time on, one by one, all remaining freedoms and human rights of Jews were eliminated with the passage of laws. Then the German Jews and, after the war began and Germany took control in other countries, Jews from all over Europe were taken away, first to ghettos in Eastern Europe then to concentration camps where they were abused, worked to death or murdered. Relocation, deportation and transport became the most feared words for Jews.

The ghettos and the Einsatzgruppen

Before most Jews were taken to the concentration camps they were first transported east and forced to live in ghettos. In a directive issued on September 21, 1939 by Reinhard Heydrick, head of the Gestapo and responsible to Heinrich Himmler (Reichsfuhrer-SS), plans were set forth for the execution of Hitler's "racial" program. First the Jews were to be removed from Germany, from the countryside in other parts of Europe, and concentrated in ghettos in the cities of Eastern Europe. Then "prompt Aryanization" or confiscation of Jewish property was to occur.

Once the Jews were confined in the ghettos they were virtually shut off from the rest of the world. From February 1940 until the liquidation of the last ghetto in August 1945, three million Jews lived in Nazi ghettos, deprived of food, clothing, fuel, medicine, sanitary facilities, living space and even sleep.

They were forced to live in the bombed-out slums of Warsaw, Lodz and other cities, with no parks or even empty lots. In one ghetto there was only one tree. They lived in constant fear of being deported or killed. People were shot just for walking down the street, and periodically, the Gestapo would simply round them up, especially children, and take them off to forced labor camps or extermination camps.[32]

A typical month's food rations for one person consisted of less than one and one-half pounds of meat, one egg, twelve ounces of potatoes, and two ounces of cheese. None of this was given away free, but rather, people were forced to work long hours to earn ration cards and money so that they could purchase their food. Children and the elderly were not issued ration cards, since the Nazis had no intentions of feeding them. Therefore, the leaders of the Jewish community had to collect and distribute the food themselves to assure that all would be allowed to eat.[33]

Jews lived six to a room. Plumbing, toilets and the sewage system were overused and broke down. Disinfectants and soaps were practically nonexistent. The only thing that relieved the congestion was death. In Warsaw 5,000 people died each month. In Lodz, 30,000 died in the first year. In all, 550,000 died in the ghettos.[34] It was the intention of the Nazi government that the Jews die in ghettos, but eventually, those who refused to die were taken to concentration camps instead.

As the German troops advanced eastward, the Einsatzgruppen, a paramilitary force, followed, performing their terror and systematic savagery. Jews and others deemed "undesirables" were cleaned out. Prominent Jewish citizens were called out as villages were taken so that they in turn might gather all the Jews for "resettlement." All were forced to surrender their valuables, and were marched away to a place for execution. After digging their own deep trenches, and surrendering their clothing, they were shot. Thus the East European Jewish culture which had existed since the sixteenth century was brought to an end.

Concentration camps

Millions of people died in more than thirty Nazi concentration camps. Today the names of the camps most widely known are those which were the "extermination" camps. Late in 1943 Primo Levi, a chemist and "Italian citizen of the Jewish race," was arrested and transported to Auschwitz. In his book, *Survival in Auschwitz*, Levi describes the rounding up of Jews in Italy and the journey north:

> . . . it was a night that one knew human eyes would not witness it and survive . . . . All took leave from life in the manner which suited them. Some praying, some deliberately drunk, others lustfully intoxicated for the last time. But the mothers stayed up to prepare the food for this journey with tender care. They washed their children and packed their luggage, and at dawn the barbed wire was full of children's washing hung out in the wind to dry. Nor did they forget the diapers, the toys, the cushions and the hundreds of other small things, which mothers remember and the children always need . . . .
>
> The train was waiting. Here we received the first blows; and it was so new and senseless that we felt no pain, neither in body or in spirit . . . . Good wagons closed from the outside, with men, women and children pressed together without pity, like cheap merchandise, for a journey toward nothingness . . . .
>
> The train travelled slowly with long unnerving halts . . . . We suffered from thirst and cold; at every stop we clamoured for water or even a handful of snow, but we were rarely heard; the soldiers of the escort drove off everybody who tried to approach the convoy.[35]

Auschwitz, where four huge gas chambers and crematoria allowed the Nazis to kill 6,000 people a day, is perhaps the most infamous of all, but others such as Treblinka and Belsec and smaller camps at Riga, Vilna and Minsk were also the sites of great suffering and death.

In *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, William L. Shirer describes the horror of the concentration camps while pointing out how the Nazis tried to cover their malignant function:

> . . . The gas chambers themselves and the adjoining crematoria, viewed from a short distance, were not sinister looking at all: it was impossible to make them out for what they were. Over them were well-kept lawns with flower borders; the signs at the entrances merely said BATHS. The unsuspecting Jews thought they were simply being taken to baths for the delousing which was customary at all camps . . . . to the accompaniment of sweet music . . . . The death marches at Auschwitz were sprightly and merry tunes . . .[36]

The reality, Shirer describes, was a stark contrast to outward appearances:

> . . . Once they were inside the "shower-room" — and perhaps this was the first moment that they may have suspected that something was amiss, for as many as two thousand of them were packed into the chamber like sardines, making it difficult to take a bath — the massive door was slid shut, locked and hermetically sealed. Up above where the well-groomed lawn and flower beds almost concealed the mushroom-shaped lids of the vents that ran up from the hall of death, the orderlies stood ready to drop into them the amethyst-blue crystals of hydrogen cyanide, or Zyklon B . . . . It took some moments for the gas to have much effect. But soon the inmates became aware that it was issuing from the perforations in the vents. It was then that they usually panicked, crowding away from the pipes and finally stampeding toward the huge metal door where . . . they piled up in one blue clammy blood-spattered pyramid . . . .[37]

The full range of the cruelty and barbarism of the concentration camps came to light only after the war ended. What the Nazis did to human beings in these places defies comprehension. People were treated like animals, like objects, they were killed by the millions. A few inmates did survive and through their words we have an important perspective on life in the camps.

Although the Western press carried stories about the Final Solution (e.g., the front page of the *New York Herald Tribune*, April 20, 1943, read: "Report Tells of Nazi Annihilation of 2,000,000 Jews in Europe"), many people, because of the uprecedented nature of the crimes, did not believe that they were being committed.

Elie Wiesel, winner of The 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, was deported with his family to Auschwitz when he was fourteen. Later he was transferred to Buchenwald where his parents and a younger sister died. He has described his experiences in his book *Night:*

> . . . as the train stopped, we saw . . . flames . . . gushing out of a tall chimney into the black sky . . . . We looked into the flames in the darkness. There was an abominable odor floating in the air. Suddenly, our doors opened. Some odd looking characters, dressed in striped shirts and black trousers leapt into the wagon. They held electric torches and truncheon. They began to strike out right and left shouting:
>
> "Everybody get out. Everybody out of the wagon. Quickly." We jumped out . . . . In front of us flames. In the air that smelled of burning flesh. . . . We had arrived — at Birkenau, reception center for Auschwitz.
>
> The cherished objects we had brought with us that far were left behind in the train and with them, at last, our illusions.
>
> Every yard or so an SS man held his tommy gun trained on us. Hand-in-hand we followed the crowd. . . . "Men to the left. Women to the right." Eight words spoken quietly, indifferently, without emotion. Eight short simple words. Yet that was the moment I was parted from my mother . . . . For a part of a second I glimpsed my mother and

> my sister moving to the right. Tzipora held mother's hand. I saw them disappear into the distance; my mother was stroking my sister's fair hair as though to protect her, while I walked on with my father and the other men. And I did not know that at that place, at that moment, I was parting from my mother and Tzipora forever. I went on walking. My father held my hand . . .[38]

World reaction

In general, there was very little response from the nations of the world to the plight of the Jews. Conferences were held and organizations created, but no large-scale action was taken. The United States, just recovering from the depths of the depression and worried about international politics, did not modify its immigration laws to allow Jews to enter the country. In fact, during the period of Nazi rule, only a small percentage of the quota allowed under the U.S. immigration policy was permitted to enter the country.

By 1938, six years after the Nazi rise to power, only 26 percent of the German quota had been admitted to the United States. Although most Americans believed that immigrants had been pouring into the country, swelling the ranks of the unemployed, during that same period more Americans left the United States for good than were allowed in.[39]

On November 26, 1943, Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee concerning a plan "to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany." Long denied the need for such a plan on the ground that the State Department was already saving Jews. He stated: "We have taken into this country since the beginning of the Hitler regime, until today, approximately 580,000 refugees."[40]

From 1933 to 1943 only 476,930 aliens entered the United States from all the countries of the world, and only 138,000 of them were Jews escaping Nazi persecution. The immigration laws could have allowed about 1.5 million to enter the United States during that time. There were 1,244,858 unfilled places on the quota, and many more by the end of the war.[41]

England, in an attempt to placate the Arabs and protect her interests in the Middle East, limited immigration to Palestine and admitted only 9,000 refugee children from Germany. Some Baltic countries actually assisted the Nazis in carrying out the "final solution."

Danish and Swedish citizens, however, showed what could be done. Their assistance to Jews is a testament to the ideals of heroic and humane behavior. The Danish people cooperated to protect Jews, with the result that in some communities fewer than 10 percent of the Jews sought out by the Germans for deportation were actually apprehended. Six thousand Jews were hidden in and around Copenhagen while a rescue mission was set up. An expedition of Danish fishing boats secretly ferried Jews to Sweden:

> . . . The organizers of the expedition were private people who simply made themselves available for the task at a moment's notice . . . doctors, school teachers, students, businessmen, taxi drivers, housewives. . . . They faced considerable problems . . . to make sure that the Jews were moved undetected to the beaches and loaded safely on the vessels. That was no mean trick. . . . Not a single ship was sunk. There were mishaps. Some of the organizers were

> arrested, a few were subjected to a rifle fusillade, and one . . . was killed by German bullets when a loading party was discovered. When the operation was over, 5,919 full Jews, 1,301 part-Jews and 686 non-Jews who were married to Jews had been ferried across. Danish Jewery was safe in Sweden.[42]

Sweden, a neutral country during the war, also exerted her influence to save Jews from Germany and German-occupied countries. Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, entered Budapest, Hungary in July 1944. Risking his life to save Jews, he worked tirelessly. Though he was a wealthy, sophisticated Christian who had never had much contact with Jews, Wallenberg did not stand by passively to witness the mistreatment and murder of Jews; he acted:

> . . . Wallenberg arrived . . . in early July. The Swedish minister . . . had already begun the rescue effort by issuing six hundred provisional passports to Jews who had personal or commercial ties to Sweden. Wallenberg expanded the scheme radically. He printed a protective passport of his own elaborate design complete with official seals and the triple-crown insignia of Sweden. It stated that the bearer awaited emigration to Sweden and, until departure, enjoyed the protection of that government. Wallenberg persuaded the Hungarian authorities to respect five thousand of these homemade passports.
>
> Working around the clock, he built a city-wide relief organization, establishing hospitals and soup kitchens. He employed four hundred Jews to staff these institutions. . . . Neither the Germans nor their Hungarian ally wished to antagonize the neutral Sweden, and although Wallenberg was continually threatened, no direct action was taken against him.
>
> In January, 1945, Wallenberg promised not to return to Sweden until the property of the Jews in Hungary, [then] liberated from the Nazis by the Russians, was restored to them. He has not been seen or heard from since meeting with the Russian General Malinovsky at that time.[43]

There were other non-Jews throughout Europe who overcame fear for their own lives to save Jews from continued persecution and death. A memorial, the Avenue of the Just, outside Jerusalem, honors these heroic individuals.

Resistance

The word resistance usually implies some form of armed uprising. Although a few such incidents occurred, they were rare, and as history has shown, ineffectual. Furthermore, resistance on the part of a single individual usually met with instant death or random retaliation against others.

Aside from open rebellion against the Nazis there were other forms of resistance, by both Jews and non-Jews. In the ghettos, just staying alive was a form of resistance. If it was the goal of the Nazis that Jews should die, they did their best to defy their oppressors and survive. Using their intelligence and ingenuity to outwit the Germans, the Jews were able to circumvent many of the restrictions and prohibitions meant to deprive them of their physical existence and their cultural heritage. They smuggled food and medicine into the ghetto, sabotaged factories where they were forced to work supplying the Nazi war machine, published newspapers, kept diaries, warned neighbors of forced labor round-ups, refused to report for deportation to the camps, ran

underground schools, and observed the traditions of their religion, all despite the knowledge that the consequence of discovery was death.

While many non-Jews in postwar Germany claim to have been opposed to Hitler's rule, few challenged it in any overt fashion, but there were also some Germans who, despite the risks, dared to resist. Some people hid Jews, even whole families, in their homes throughout the war, sharing their food rations, and risking their own lives should they be discovered. Others, like the youth organization, the White Rose, openly urged the German people to overthrow the regime.

Formerly members of the Nazi youth movement, the leaders of the White Rose were students who had become disturbed by the constant public beating and deportation of the Jews. "We started to discuss things," recalls one surviving member, "and discovered an important thing — the Nazis were liars."[44] The aim of the White Rose was to expose the lies. It was impossible for them to obtain weapons, or to reach their goal of taking over communication centers, but they did get the news out. Hans and Sophie Scholl, a brother and sister who had joined the group, ultimately discovered the truth about Hitler's "final solution." On February 18, 1943, while dropping leaflets from a balcony at the University of Munich, stating that 300,000 Jews had been killed and urging the Germans to rise against the Third Reich, the Scholls were arrested. Four days later they were beheaded.

On July 20, 1944, Col. Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg planted a bomb in a room where Hitler and his staff were meeting. The blast killed several officers, but not Hitler. Eventually, von Stauffenberg, and others accused of participating in the plot, were executed.

The aftermath of World War II

Two-thirds of the Jews in Europe died in the Holocaust. When the concentration camps were liberated at the end of the war, thousands of inmates poured into the Allied zones in Germany seeking help from the victors. Although some provisions were made to provide a new life for those who had survived, the doors of many countries were closed to them. Thousands of Jews were left homeless and helpless. Raul Hiberg described their plight:

> . . . Up to May 8, 1945, the Jewish masses could not be rescued from the catastrophe; now the survivors had to be saved from its consequences . . . (S)ome tens of thousands of Jews clustered around the liberated concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen in the British zone, the Dachau complex in the American zone, Mauthausen in Austria. Thousands of the worst cases among the camp survivors were taken to hospitals in Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden; other thousands began to trek back to Hungary and Poland in search of lost families. To the south and east the broken Jewish remnant communities formed a belt of restlessness, extending from the Balkans through Poland to the depths of Russia.... Many were dispersed, most were destitute, and all were insecure.[45]

The vast majority of Jews had nowhere to go. They were forced to remain in camps that were overcrowded and frequently lacked basic facilities for heating, cooking and washing. Food and clothing were scarce and rationed. It was not until the State of Israel was established that the logjam of Jewish displaced persons (DPs) was broken. Even prior to the establishment of Israel 142,000 Jewish DPs emigrated there. This number was greater than the total who went to live in the United States, Canada, Belgium and France. After Israel was recognized in May 1948, 340,000 more Jews arrived in all kinds of ships, planes and in some cases by clandestine overland trips.

Jews who remained in Eastern Europe found they could no longer support the needy among them. The war had left all Jews virtually without any financial resources, and it was necessary for them to look elsewhere for help. Following the war the principal American Jewish relief agency gave aid to more than 300,000 Jews in Romania and Hungary alone. Disease, starvation and death were commonplace. Jews remaining in Soviet Union faced all of these plus the denial of rights to express their language and culture in schools, theatres, newspapers and journals. The practice of the Jewish faith was so restricted as to be virtually denied.

The Nuremberg Trials

In November 1945, in a precedent-setting action, twenty-two major German leaders and three organizations were brought to trial before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, Germany. The Nazi leaders were charged with three kinds of crimes:

> **crimes against peace** — the planning, preparation, initiation and waging of a war of aggression;
>
> **war crimes** — violations of the laws or customs of war including the murder, ill-treatment and deportation to slave labor of civilian populations and the murder and ill-treatment of prisoners of war; and
>
> **crimes against humanity** — the murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane treatment of civilians before and during the war; persecution on political, racial or religious grounds.

On October 1, 1946, the Court sentenced twelve to hang, seven to prison terms of varying lengths and acquitted three. Although the trial of war criminals was not new, the Nuremberg trials marked a departure in international law because government leaders were brought to trial. Never before had an international court held any government responsible for the treatment of its own citizens and the citizens of other countries.

In twelve subsequent trials, known as the Nuremberg proceedings, medical doctors, judges, government officials, industrialists and military officers and other individuals, were tried. Many of these defendants claimed that they did not know that Jews as a class were being exterminated and that they were simply obeying orders from their superiors. Some claimed the Allies committed similar crimes. The tribunal did not accept this argument and said that guilt should be determined not on the basis of whether or not a superior had given an order, but rather on whether or not the person had an opportunity to make a moral choice. The defense of "following orders" did not save the defendants in all cases. While thirty-five were declared not guilty, ninety-seven received prison terms ranging from time already served to twenty-five years, twenty were imprisoned for life, and twenty-five were condemned to death. Additional trials were held in other countries. Unfortunately, however, many war criminals escaped trial. Efforts to bring those who escaped judgment to trial decreased after the large trials were over.

With the capture and subsequent trial of Adolf Eichmann by Israel in 1960, a noticeable change occurred in the punishment of former Nazis. The search for Nazi criminals was intensified and in Germany and in other countries, trials were renewed against a number of Nazis who had long ceased to be under investigation. The possibilities of Nazis exploiting the rights of asylum in other countries diminished. There was an increased awareness that the crimes of the Nazis must not be forgotten and that criminals must be punished if the specter of the Holocaust was ever to be put to rest.

Mass Murder and Genocide of Poles During World War II

Nazis murdered eight to ten million Slavs in Europe during World War II. This killing of Slavs was based on Adolf Hitler's theory of a master race and on the Nazis' racist attitudes. As a result, Poland suffered the loss of a significant part of its population. Six million Poles (three million Christians, including 3,000 Catholic priests, and three million Polish Jews) were killed during this period.

Poland is located in Central Europe between Germany and the U.S.S.R. Situated between East and West, Poland adopted Western values and ideas more than a thousand years ago when it accepted Christianity from Rome in 966. Once one of the largest and most powerful countries in Europe, Poland was weakened by conflicts with the Germans on one side and with the Turks and Tartars on the other. In the thirteenth century Tartar raids decimated the population to such an extent that Polish princes invited foreigners to settle in the country, including Jews who were being persecuted in other countries.

The union of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century brought about three centuries of strength and prosperity. However, after many wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sapped this strength, Austria, Prussia, and Russia partitioned Poland. It ceased to exist until after World War I, when its sovereignty was restored.

World War II began when Poland resisted Hitler's invasion on September 1, 1939. His primary goal was to gain living space for the "master race." The drive to the East was based on Hitler's anti-Slavic racism: to the West and South there were non-Slavic nations, and to the North was the sea. The general plan of German atrocities was laid down at the outset. Hitler's authorization to kill all men, women, and children of Polish descent was given to his army on August 22, 1939. Those spared were to be turned into slaves with no rights at all. The initial extermination effort was directed against intellectual and political leaders, the "brain" of the nation.

The Nazis murdered Polish civilians in many ways. More than a million Poles perished in Auschwitz, Majdanek, Dachau, Buchenwald, Ravensbruck, and other concentration camps. Nazi planes bombed and strafed residential sections of cities, hamlets out in the countryside, shepherds in the fields, hospitals, ambulances, and buses and horse-drawn wagons evacuating civilians from burning cities. In Silesia there were several cases of soldiers ordering people indoors, setting fire to their homes, and shooting those who tried to escape. Frequently, hundreds of civilians at a time were rounded up at random from their homes, public places, or the streets and shot in the town square or sent to concentration camps. In addition, the Nazis conducted, without anesthesia, forced medical experiments and sterilization of young women.

Stutthof, near the Baltic coast, became the wartime site of one of the strictest and most primitive of official concentration camps—the first camp established on Polish territory and the last in occupied Europe to be liberated. It played a major role in the extermination and incarceration of the Polish people. The most serious feature of Stutthof was hard labor; most inmates died as a result. When the Poles did not work themselves to death or starve, members of the Schutzstaffel (SS) hanged them from trees, drowned them, or burned them alive in wood furnaces.

Poles for whom Germanization was either impossible or undesirable were to be reduced to an animal state. In several regions Hitler would educate the Poles only up to the fourth grade. Instructors would teach Poles to count up to 500, write their names, and be obedient to the Germans. The intent was to have the Poles become drones reduced to slavery and exploitation. Hitler began his Germanization program immediately after the invasion. Mass evacuations and mass murders of leaders, intelligentsia, and priests took place.

The Germans kidnapped an estimated 200,000 Polish children, who were forcibly taken from their parents and deported to Germany to be turned into Germans. After the war only about 15 percent of the kidnapped children returned to Poland.

The territories of Poland under Nazi control were divided into two parts. Western Poland was annexed to Germany, and the rest became an occupational zone named General Government. Hans Frank, Nazi governor of the zone, declared on September 12, 1940, that Hitler had made it quite clear that the Reich had a special mission "to finish off the Poles at all costs."

The Eastern territories of Poland were occupied by the Soviet Union pursuant to the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. The Soviets imprisoned, sent to forced labor camps (gulags) in Siberia, or deported to the Asiatic republics about two million Polish citizens. They also executed 12,000 Polish officers. A mass grave for 4,000 of the slain officers was later discovered in the Katyn Forest.

In the midst of Nazi brutality and genocidal activity, Polish resistance groups attempted to counteract the horrors of occupation and hasten its end. On August 1, 1944, when the Red Army approached Warsaw in pursuit of the Nazis, the Polish underground began the Warsaw Uprising (to be distinguished from the earlier Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). However, the Soviet army suddenly stopped its advance a few miles outside the city and waited for the uprising to run its course. The Nazis brutally suppressed the revolt and leveled 95 percent of the buildings in Warsaw after looting and killing the citizens. The loss of civilian lives exceeded 150,000.

Chapter 6
Totalitarian Violations in Argentina, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and South Africa*

Teaching Objective

Students will begin to appreciate the complexities of world issues today and the role of the United States as a major world power.

In the opening chapters of this document we noted that "man's inhumanity to man" is a phenomenon at least as old as recorded history. More than being merely one evil in an historical litany of human rights violations, the Holocaust represents the height of what modern, civilized society is capable of inflicting on its citizens.

But the evil that was unleashed by the Third Reich did not end with the war, and the outrage that was felt when the world learned of the horrors of the camps was short-lived. The more than forty years since World War II have seen not a worldwide move toward brotherly love, but cruelty refined and perfected by the technology of the modern world. All of the elements of the "final solution," from torture to starvation, from slavery to genocide, are still being practiced today.

Even the nature of war has become more terrifying. Once confined to the killing of soldiers in combat, who at least had a chance to fight back, the victims of war, in the twentieth century, are the innocent. In World War I, ninety-five percent of the deaths were soldiers, five percent were civilians; in World War II, fifty-two percent soldiers, forty-eight percent civilians; in Korea, sixteen percent soldiers, eighty-four percent civilians; and in Vietnam, ten percent soldiers, ninety percent civilians.[46]

In 1983, upon the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the Secretary-General of the United Nations stated that, with the exception of South Africa, all the nations of the world have passed legislation guaranteeing the protection of human rights for all their people. But, he noted, there is a wide gap between legislation and practice. "Political detainees languishing in prisons, arbitrary executions and mass killings, disappearances, mass exodus and torture, the persistence of apartheid and the quarter of the human race living in absolute poverty [give] painful evidence of man's injustice to man."[47]

Newspapers and magazines, television networks and radio stations issue reports daily of the continuing violations of the rights of humans. Political imprisonment, wrote Robert Shelton in a June 1974 issue of *Saturday Review:*

> . . . takes many forms: internal exile — a kind of "house arrest" within the borders of a country; banishment to remote penal islands; and being locked up in concentration camps, city jails, national prisons.

*Chapter title changed with permission of the State Department of Education of Connecticut.

> . . . Perhaps worse than banishment is the Soviet practice of sending dissenters to lunatic asylums.[48]

He further noted that conditions in political prisons are "usually subhuman and unsupportable: torture, painful shackling, perennial starvation, and calculated breakdown of prisoner morale are the very grammar and rhetoric of political detentions."

On August 16, 1976, *Time* magazine reported that:

> . . . rarely before in history has torture been in such widespread use. . . . From Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, to Guinea, Uganda, Spain, Iran and the Soviet Union, torture has become a common instrument of state policy practiced against almost anyone ruling cliques see as a threat to their powers.[49]

The magazine noted that sixty countries "officially practice" torture.

Eight years later, Amnesty International, in its recent publication, *Torture in the Eighties*, provided detailed accounts of inhumane treatment of prisoners in sixty-six countries, from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, and reports of allegations of torture in nearly thirty others.[50]

The crime of genocide, first formally defined by the United Nations after World War II, continues to plague the world. Idi Amin, deposed dictator of Uganda, has been accused of murdering some 300,000 political foes, potential enemies, and similarly unwanted people. Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime is said to have caused the deaths of one to three million of his fellow Cambodians. In 1983, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights officially labeled as genocide South Africa's enforcement of apartheid, with its policies of deliberate malnutrition for blacks, forced birth control for non-whites, its "Bantustan policy," and the separation of husbands and wives for long periods of time.[51]

Violations of human rights in the eighties are so extensive, and come under so many headings, that a document such as this cannot begin to list them all. The U. S. Department of State provides an annual report to Congress, called *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, in which it lists human rights violations under at least eleven categories, including: cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; disappearances; denial of fair public trials; denial of civil and political liberties; economic and social circumstances leading to starvation, and more. In this chapter we will focus on three regions of the world: Argentina, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and South Africa. By limiting our account we can provide a more detailed, and thus more vivid, picture of life for millions of the world's people who live under repressive regimes, or who are being systematically deprived of their human rights. It is hoped that, by using the bibliographies and suggested projects in this report, teachers will continue to encourage students to understand and respond to international human rights issues in the twentieth century.

Argentina: land of the disappeared

Jacob Timerman caught the attention of the world when, in his book, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, he wrote:

> . . . Entire families disappeared. The bodies were covered with cement and thrown to the bottom of the river. The Plata River, the Parana River. Sometimes the cement was badly applied, and corpses would wash up along the Argentine and Uruguayan coasts. A mother recognized her fifteen-year-old son, an Argentine, who appeared on

the Uruguayan coast. But that was an accident — the corpses usually vanish forever.

The corpses were thrown into old cemeteries under existing graves. Never to be found.

The corpses were heaved into the middle of the sea from helicopters.

The corpses were dismembered and burned.[52]

Yet, according to the 1985 *World Almanac*, Argentina is, and has been for decades, the most prosperous, literate, and industrialized of the major Latin American nations. Eighty percent of the population lives in urban areas; sixty percent own their own homes, the same percentage as in the United States. The average Argentine enjoys a healthy, high protein diet, and has a life expectancy of 70.6 years. If this is true, why then would Timerman write as he did and why is Argentina being included in a document on human rights violations?

In 1946, following a sixteen-year series of military coups, General Juan Peron was elected president. Although he and his wife Eva were responsible for much needed labor reforms, during his rule he allowed no freedom of the press, no freedom of speech, closed down all the religious schools, and ran the country into debt. In 1955 Peron was overthrown, and thus followed a new series of military and civil regimes. Since 1964, Argentina has been at war with itself. Peron was recalled from exile in 1973, but died after only ten months in office. His third wife succeeded him, and she too was ousted, in 1976, by a military junta. Throughout this period, and during the military rule that followed, extremists on both the left and the right, with and without support of the government, continued to wage war against the Argentine people, killing some 5,000 citizens, jailing and torturing thousands more.

According to Jacob Timerman, an international prize-winning Argentine publisher, terrorism was a way of life: "Peronists assassinating Peronists, the military assassinating the military, union members assassinating union members, students other students, policemen other policemen."[53]

By June 1976, Amnesty International reported that some 20,000 people had become members of a new class, los desaparecidos — "the disappeared." Argentine human rights groups estimated the number as high as 30,000 arrested or kidnapped, mostly by government security forces, or paramilitary right-wing terrorists. When asked by family members for news of their loved ones, the government denied they had ever been in custody. While in prison, victims were regularly tortured, inadequate diets led to malnutrition, and medical care was nonexistent, even for the severely injured. Former U. S. Representative Robert Drinan, a Catholic priest and a member of a three-person Amnesty International investigation team, reported in 1976 that he heard "incredible tales of torture being used. . . . There's no reason to deny or question the veracity of witnesses. It's just an unbelievable situation." On the day the junta took charge, Dr. Maximo Victoria, a long-standing member of the Argentine Atomic Energy Commission and Director of the National Institute of Industrial Technology was arrested. Dr. Victoria was held prisoner for seven months. For weeks at a time he was tortured and interrogated about other professional associates. He and four other prisoners in his two-by-three meter cell "were subjected to constant body inspections or sent to solitary confinement [in isolation cells of one-by-two meters] on the least of excuses. . . . At one point we were locked in our cells for 45 days, without any

communication from the outside world." Dr. Victoria testified that whole families had been arrested "because the agents of repression did not find someone whom they were looking for and instead took everyone in the house." On October 11, 1976, after never having been officially accused, nor told why he was arrested, Dr. Victoria was released and fled the country.[54]

For the seven years, between 1976 and 1983, "repression, terrorism, torture became a form of government" for the ruling military junta. As soon as it had assumed power, the junta dissolved forty-eight political, labor and student organizations, and ordered prison sentences for anyone engaged in political activities. Possession, production or distribution of any political material, or reporting on political activities in any news media, was punishable by imprisonment. Political parties and labor unions were to be reorganized after the "complete annihilation" of political terrorism, and the recovery of the economy.

Jacob Timerman was also held prisoner and tortured for thirty months. His crime was that of being a journalist, whose newspaper, *La Opinion*, "committed what in Argentina was construed as a capital sin; it used precise language to describe actual situations so that its articles were comprehensible and direct."[55] *La Opinion* did not discriminate; it reported on the terrorist activities of both the left and the right. Neither the ruling military government, nor its equally violent opponents, understood Timerman's wish to simply end the killings. In a meeting with an officer of the Argentine navy, Timerman tried to convince the man that the way to punish a group of recently arrested terrorists was through fair, legal, public trials, not with summary executions. However, it was too late; the terrorists had already been executed. The conversation went as follows:

> "If we exterminate them all, there'll be fear for several generations."
>
> "What do you mean by all?"
>
> "All . . . about 20,000 people. And their relatives too — they must be eradicated — and also those who remember their names."
>
> "And what makes you think that the Pope will not protest such repression? Many governments, political leaders, trade union leaders, and scientists throughout the world are already doing so . . ."
>
> "Not a trace or witness will remain."
>
> "That's what Hitler attempted in his Night and Fog policy. Sending to their deaths, reducing to ashes and smoke, those he'd already stripped of any human trace of identity. Germany paid for each and every one of them. And is still paying, with a nation that has remained divided."
>
> "Hitler lost the war. We will win."[56]

So far at least they haven't won. But in some ways the rulers in Argentina, like those of Cambodia and South Africa, are winning. People often ask the question, will there ever be another holocaust? Timerman, when asked this question in 1980, replied that there already was another holocaust. In Argentina thousands have died, and thousands more, the disappeared, are believed to be dead. Jews were particularly ill-treated, and libeled with the age old accusation of fomenting a "worldwide conspiracy."

> . . . The military government that took power in Argentina in March 1976 arrived with an all-embracing arsenal of Nazi ideology as part of its structure. It would be impossible to determine whether this was backed by the majority or minority . . . but security forces could repress Jews simply because they were Jews, with no repercussions.[57]

And as during the Holocaust, most of the world, both within Argentina and without, both Jews and non-Jews, remained silent.

> . . . the great silence, which appears in every civilized country which passively accepts the inevitability of violence. . . . That silence which existed in Germany, when even many well-intentioned individuals assumed that everything would return to normal once Hitler finished with the Communists and Jews. Or when Russians assumed that everything would return to normal once Stalin eliminated the Trotskyites. This was the conviction in Argentina. Then came fear, indifference. . . . Whereupon the silence reverts to patriotism. Fear finds its great moral revelation in patriotism with its capacity for justification, its climate of glory and sacrifice. . . . It's best, therefore, to be a patriot and not remain solitary. To stay out of politics and stay alive.[58]

In 1983, following his failure to defeat the British in the Falklands war, the military junta leader, Leopoldo Galtieri, was forced to resign, and was replaced by a freely elected civil government, headed by President Raul Alfonsin. It remains to be seen what the future of Argentina will be.

Kampuchea (Cambodia):
A nationwide gulag

"Not since Hitler's Holocaust had the world seen such suffering. The Khmer Rouge had slaughtered and starved two million of Cambodia's population of seven million."[59] With these words former Ambassador to the U. N. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick described the four-and-a-half year rule of Cambodia's Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge.

In 1970 a Cambodian coup d'etat replaced ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk with pro-United States premier Lon Nol. At that time, the United States was fighting in Vietnam and North Vietnam was using Cambodia as a base of operations. Lon Nol demanded that the North Vietnamese remove their troops from Cambodia. The Vietnamese Communists began supporting anti-Lon Nol insurgents, called by Prince Sihanouk the Khmer Rouge. As the Khmer Rouge gradually gained control over the Cambodian countryside, the U. S. Air Force dropped its bombs on Cambodia, three times as many tons of conventional explosives as fell on Japan in all of World War II.

On April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh and took over Cambodia, turning the beleaguered country into a "nationwide gulag." Within hours the new government began a forced exodus, from the city, of some two million people.

Pursuing his vision of a peasant nation modeled on the ancient Kampuchean Empire, Pol Pot forcefully emptied all the cities and towns, driving everyone into the countryside, and methodically executing the educated class. He held that:

> Cities were useless — empty them! Trade was evil, abolish all markets. Abolish money. Destroy contaminating foreign vestiges — television sets, air conditioners. Destroy contaminated people: former enemy soldiers, teachers, physicians . . .[60]

Using slogans like "purification of the people," and "returning the country to the peasant," Pol Pot turned Cambodian society upside down.

From 1969 to 1975 Sydney Schanberg, later metropolitan editor of *The New York Times*, was the *Times* Asian reporter. During that time he met Dith Pran, a young Cambodian who served first as his translator and aide, and later as a stringer for the *Times*. In April 1975, Dith Pran was forced to evacuate Phnom Penh along with his fellow Cambodians, and Schanberg began the search for his friend. "Unable to protect him . . . I had watched him disappear into the interior of Cambodia which would become a death camp for millions." Four and one-half years later, Dith Pran would emerge from Cambodia to tell his story.

What happened to Pran was in many ways typical of life for the Khmer Rouge people, but in one way it was not. Most of the educated Khmer did not survive. Schools had been abolished, along with their teachers. Hospitals were destroyed, and ninety percent of the nation's 600 doctors either were executed or had fled the country. Two-thirds of the post Khmer Rouge population were women. Says Pran:

> . . . They did not kill people in front of us. They took them away at night and murdered them with big sticks and hoes, to save bullets. Life was totally controlled and the Khmer Rouge did not need a good reason to kill someone; the slightest excuse would do — a boy and girl holding hands, and an unauthorized break from work. Anyone they didn't like they would accuse of being a teacher or a student . . . and that was the end.[61]

Cheating death, Pran censored his thoughts, and watched his vocabulary, keeping it crude and limited to conceal his education. "If you tell the truth, or even argue a little, they kill you," was Pran's rule of survival.

Once forced into the countryside, the people were put to work on collective farms or on special construction projects. Families were separated, with husbands, wives and children all working in different parts of the country, often not seeing each other for seasons at a time. Some children never saw their parents again. Married people needed permission to meet and sleep together. On the collectives, men and women slept in separate, large, communal bunk houses. Noted one Khmer citizen, "Imagine sleeping in a 45-foot collective bed. We were expendable, treated worse than prisoners. We were used as machinery." Mass weddings were arranged by the Khmer Rouge, and waves of suicides resulted. Another Khmer reported that they were forced to work "for eighteen hours a day plowing, hoeing or building irrigation works, on pitiful rations of rice gruel, driven by pitiless 'cadre' supervisors with the power of life and death."[62]

Despite the massive use of forced labor, agriculture was totally mismanaged. Pran estimated that ten percent of the seven million Cambodians died of starvation in 1975 alone. "The villagers, desperate, ate snails, snakes, insects, rats, scorpions, tree bark, leaves, flower blossoms, the trunk of banana plants. . . . Some people were digging up the bodies of the newly executed and cooking the flesh."[63]

Subjected to violent expulsion from their homes, separated from friends and family, and compelled to live in a totally hostile environment, former urban Khmer were also persecuted by the Khmer peasantry. The Cambodian people were divided into two groups: the Old People (farmers) and the New People (those expelled from towns). "Cadres" of Old People were filled with bitterness toward the city people. They resented the hard life they had endured during the war, while the city people were "lazy and comfortable in Phnom Penh." Each night the New People had to meet and criticize each other in front of the "cadres:" "What had they done wrong that day?

Picking up anything to eat — a piece of fruit, a root, a worm — was wrong. If you were criticized two or three times, you'd be killed." One Khmer remembers a frightful night. He remembers being "taken away . . . arms tied behind the back . . . I'd been shown the steel bars for breaking necks, the pits the corpses fell into one by one, the skulls by the thousands. There's many a killing ground amid the sugar palms. . . ."[64]

Dith Pran also spoke of "killing grounds with bones and skulls everywhere among the trees and wells." In his own village of Siem Reap, he found two execution areas with the bones of 4,000 to 5,000 in each. "In the water wells, the bodies were like soup bones in broth, and you could always tell the killing grounds because the grass grew taller and greener where the bodies were buried." Furthermore, Pran feared most the Khmer Rouge soldiers between 12 and 15 years old. Children were encouraged and trained to spy on their teachers, their friends and even their parents. They were the

> . . . most completely and savagely indoctrinated. . . . They took them very young and taught them nothing but discipline. Just take orders, no need for a reason. Their minds have nothing inside except discipline. They do not believe any religion or tradition except Khmer Rouge orders. That's why they killed their own people, even babies, like we kill a mosquito.[65]

Even the language of Cambodia was to change. The Pol Pot regime was known only as "Angka," the Organization. "Angka says . . . Angka orders," and it was done. "Opakar," the Instruments, was the term used for the Khmer people, and the ancient and beautiful nation of Kampuchea became "the Machine."

In January 1979, the Vietnamese army "liberated" the Kampuchean people from their Khmer Rouge concentration camp. Since then, life has improved. Mass executions have all but ceased in those areas controlled by Vietnam. No one knows exactly what is happening in the regions still controlled by the Khmer Rouge. By September of that year, for the first time in over four years, international food assistance was allowed to aid the famine-stricken country. But the economic infrastructure of Cambodia — the factories, hospitals, schools, bridges, roads, ports, and farms — lies in ruins. Half as much rice was planted in 1982 as in 1974, and, except for rubies and rubber, Kampuchea produces nothing for export.

Medical technicians and supplies from the outside world have been allowed into Cambodia, but most Khmer have no access to medical care at all. A virulent strain of malaria plagues the country where preventative measures no longer exist. Life expectancy for the average Khmer is forty-four years, and forced labor still remains a regular feature of rural life.[66]

In 1985, Cambodia was in the midst of a bloody civil war between the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Russian-backed Vietnamese occupiers under their leader, Comrade Heng Samrin, a former Pol Pot general, and the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, a three-part resistance movement of communists and noncommunists, led by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and supported by the Chinese. The latter group holds Cambodia's seat in the United Nations. Says one observer, National Geographic's Senior Writer Peter T. White, "guns are everywhere, handled as casually as hoes." It is a situation in which the "Vietnamese troops rule by day and Khmer Rouge roam by night" and the "villagers face the dilemma of living between implacable enemies, while they're planting rice in the fields the war comes to them."[67]

Apartheid: The policy of racial separation in South Africa*

In the winter of 1985, Senator Lowell Weicker was arrested outside the South African embassy in Washington, D. C. He was protesting the official South African policy of

*Subheadings for section on Apartheid reflect the California perspective.

apartheid. "Apartheid exists because a whole world tolerates it by silence," said Weicker. "The silence that envelopes today's black South Africans is no different than that which wasted yesterday's European Jews."[68]

In a nation with a total population in 1985 of 30 million, 4.5 million whites rule. Under South Africa's newest constitution, Parliament is based on a racial ratio of 4:2:1 (white: colored [racially mixed]: Asian), with 73 percent of the population, 23 million blacks, having no representation at all. Even this situation is less fair than it appears, since each racial group is only allowed to pass legislation that affects its own race. Passage of laws that affect the entire nation are controlled by the State President, elected by an electoral college containing fifty whites, twenty-five coloreds and thirteen Asians.[69]

Some important social and political consequences of Apartheid*

What effect does this arrangement have on South Africa's people? Discriminatory laws and practices are woven into the fabric of South African life. They embody an elaborate apparatus of social control involving all the usual totalitarian paraphernalia: internal passports, secret police, censorship, political arrests, and detainment. State control reaches deep into the personal lives of the people. Laws determine with whom one can socialize and whom one can invite into one's home. The government decides where one can live, work, or appear in public. Families are broken up by residence regulations, and millions are being uprooted from their homes and packed off to the barren waste areas known as "Bantustans."[70]

Fifty percent of the black population has been forced to live in ten impoverished, artificially created "homelands." The remainder are allowed to live, temporarily, in townships bordering on white urban areas, or in resettlement camps waiting to be moved elsewhere. They serve as an ever-ready pool of cheap labor, forced to work for wages that are far less than one-eighth that of whites. Unemployment among whites is less than one percent, but ranges up to twenty-five percent for blacks.[71]

In 1970, the South African Government formally instituted the "Bantustan policy." All blacks were to be forced to become citizens of one of the designated "homelands." Since these "homelands" constitute only thirteen percent of South Africa's land, and had never been the actual ancestral lands of black tribes, most people were living elsewhere at the time. Therefore, the South African Government forcibly relocated almost four million blacks, coloreds and Asians from white urban areas where they were now forbidden to live, knocking down squatter's shacks and setting fire to homes and property.[72]

According to all reports from the U. N. Commission on Human Rights, the U. S. State Department and numerous others, the "homelands" are not fit to sustain life. None is a viable economic unit. There are no natural resources, no industries, no arable lands. All major mining operations, particularly gold and silver mines, remain in white territory. For many black families, in order to survive, husbands must work in white urban areas far from the "homelands." If granted a "pass," they are allowed to remain in a white area for no longer than seventy-two hours at a time, and then must return to a black township nearby. Periodic "crime swoops are made throughout the townships, rounding up 'past offenders' too old or too young to work, and transporting them back to the 'homelands.' "[73]

One witness claimed that the "Bantustan policy" was designed to turn all black people in South Africa into migrant workers. A survey showed that 64,000 residents of

one "homeland" were migrant workers, most of whom could visit their families only once a year. Women and children suffer the most from this policy. Separated from the men, they struggle for survival on barren land, without water, proper sanitation, food, schools or medical services. Few women are allowed to live in urban areas, though hundreds of thousands defy the law, living in squatters' shacks on the outskirts of the townships. In rural areas, seventy percent of black women are unemployed. Two-thirds of those who do work are employed on farms where they are harassed and brutalized by white farmers, and treated virtually as slaves. Those who try to fight against apartheid, by joining political or labor organizations, often become victims of police brutality, detentions and torture.

Perhaps it is the children who bear the greatest burden. Forced relocation, exile to "homelands," the absence of fathers, poverty, malnutrition and disease have not only caused them great suffering, but have severely diminished their chances of developing into healthy adults. Gastroenteritis and pneumonia are the biggest causes of death among children, while diseases that no longer pose a threat to Western children regularly kill Africans. In one "homeland" during a ten-week period, 30 children died of polio, and 770 died of measles. Education for black children is practically nonexistent. An average of R7,000 per year (about $2,660) is spent on education for each white child, while R350 (about $144) is spent on each black child. Many families need their children to work so child labor is widespread. Child slavery is suspected in some areas, and black children are increasingly becoming the victims of detentions, interrogations, torture and disappearances.

In its investigation of whether or not apartheid qualified as a crime of genocide, the U. N. Human Rights Commission discovered that the South African Government has systematically tried to limit the birth of African children. "Family planning" is far from voluntary, they reported. Women have been forced to take high-risk contraceptive drugs, and mandatory sterilizations are widely used to limit family size. As most women are poor, suffer from malnutrition, and lack basic medical care, infant mortality in some areas has reached fifty percent. The separating of men and women necessitated by the "Bantustan policies" has also been an effective method of birth control. In addition, imprisonment, torture leading to the death of hundreds of dissenters, and the killing of nonwhites through slave labor have also constituted genocide.[74]

Although the "homelands" can never become economically self-sufficient, and the South African Government will not allow them to become politically independent, some observers believe it fully intends to declare them independent, thus denying blacks their citizenship in South Africa. Obtaining a passport is considered a privilege. Those who live in the "independent homelands" and wish to leave the country are issued only "homeland travel documents." Since South Africa is the only country in the world that recognizes "independent homelands" as sovereign states, these passports are useless.

The people respond*

Conditions in South Africa have steadily worsened over the past decade, and black and multiracial organizations have grown, despite the fact they are outlawed. Several acts of Parliament restrict the right of assembly and association; it is unlawful for a person of one race to join a political party of another race; and all outdoor gatherings except sports are banned, as are all indoor meetings of a political nature except those held by a legal party. In July 1985 outdoor funerals were also banned.

Even people can be banned under South African law. Any person considered a threat to the State, or who promotes the aims of communism, can be subjected to a

list of severe restrictions: restricted from or confined to certain areas; and prohibited from meeting more than one person at a time. Over 1,400 people have been banned since 1950.

Those who persist in opposing apartheid often face even more severe treatment. By law, South Africa provides for detention without charges or trial, for unlimited periods of time. As of August 1984, 572 people were being held by the South African Government, and numerous "disappearances" had occurred within the past year. One man, Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned African National Congress and considered to be the legitimate representative of the African people, has been held in prison for the past twenty-one years.[75]

Tensions in South Africa have been mounting. Between September 1984, and March 1985, 3,000 people were arrested by the South African Government, and in the 10 months prior to August 1985, 500 people, mostly blacks, were killed by police in racial disturbances. In July 1985 the South African Government proclaimed a "state of emergency" and arrested hundreds of political dissenters.[76]

Once arrested, the South African political prisoner's fate is grim. According to the U. N. Human Rights Commission, South Africa has one of the world's highest judicial execution rates; ninety-nine percent of those executed have been black. Convictions of prisoners often rely on "confessions" made by victims being tortured. The Detainees Parents Support Commission reported that the "systematic torture of prisoners included depriving them of sleep, food and drink; physical assault; and administering of electric shocks. Women have been sexually assaulted and poisoning has also been used as an instrument of torture."[77]

In one book, by a South African author whose works have been banned, is a description of a torture called "Adam's Apple." It is described as bringing the victim

> . . . only seconds away from death. . . . A towel is wrapped around the detainee's neck and is pulled tight until the victim is about to faint. Many prisoners have died owing to miscalculation by the torturer. If this happens the victim is strung up in his cell and is said to have committed suicide.[78]

There are other means of torture as well. Detainees are subjected to beatings and given electric shocks. Manacled, wrists to ankles, they are forced to squat for long hours or are suspended in the air with no support. Plastic bags are placed over their heads to interfere with breathing or to disorient them.

When victims appealed to the courts, the security officers were declared innocent despite documented evidence to the contrary. Even unauthorized violence goes unpunished. In the summer of 1984, a South African judge acquitted a white man on murder charges for having killed a black man who was apparently trying to steal 49 cents of milk money. The judge said the defendant had performed a civic service and that he probably deserved a medal.

Another account stated that:

> . . . A white youth who battered a black man to death with karate sticks was ordered to serve 1200 hours in prison on weekends . . . 20-year-old Ronnie Johannes Van Der Merwe was walking down the street with his girlfriend and bragged he felt like killing a blockhead — a derogatory term some Africans apply to blacks. He brutally beat to death the next black man he encountered. The judge said he could be partially excused because he was upset that his parents were considering a divorce.[79]

Following the imposition of the "state of emergency," which the South African Government declared was "all the fault of the Communists," *The New York Times* published a number of editorials on the fate of South Africa. Some commentators believe it is no longer possible to hope for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems. They believe that "apartheid is not the issue; power is," and that the rulers of South Africa have tried to hide the illegitimate reality of apartheid from the world, and from themselves, with elaborate theories of "racial purity," "separate development," and "independent homelands." In the past, the South African Government could count on the blacks to bear the abuse without resorting to violence but, says columnist Anthony Lewis, "They can no longer. . . . The world sees racism for what it is."[80]

Totalitarianism: a world problem

Totalitarian governments, and the wholesale violations of human rights they engender, exist throughout the world. In Central America, civil wars have killed over 150,000 people since 1979, and have driven 1.5 million from their homes. In 1984, Chile's President Augusto Pinochet Ugarte declared a state of siege and cracked down on dissent. Teachers, students, doctors, lawyers, trade unionists, and workers have been tortured.

In Africa, six million people are in danger of dying of starvation, not, according to at least one well-documented report, because of natural disasters, but because of political factors. "The prevalence of one-party state 'socialist' governments, and the grotesque militarization of society and the economy," have made it impossible for African nations to feed their populations. In Ethiopia, dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam, though warned of impending famine, ignored the advice of experts to ration food and reorganize the economic system, and spent 46 percent of the GNP on the military. He deliberately hid the famine from the rest of the world while he spent $200 million on a party celebrating the tenth anniversary of his rule."[81]

In the Middle East, totalitarianism is the rule. With the exception of Israel, not one of the nations in the region can be said to be truly democratic. In Syria, a "state of emergency" has been in force since 1963, and reports of massacres are frequent. In Iran, the government of Ayatollah Khomeini has executed thousands; in one three-month period 1,800 people were put to death. In Libya, Col. M'uammar al-Qadhafi arrested over 3,000 political opponents in 1980-81 alone, and many of them have been reported executed or tortured to death.[82]

Palestinian refugees have been denied citizenship in every Arab nation in the Middle East except Jordan, though an equal number of Jewish refugees, violently expelled from Arab lands at the same time that the Palestinians left Palestine, have been successfully absorbed into Israeli life.

Though the plight of these refugees is in some ways unique, it is as much the result of totalitarian rule as that of the other peoples in times past. The difference here is that the unfortunate Arab refugees are being exploited, not by one dictator, but by dozens, and their situation has led to the spread of terrorism worldwide.

Argentina, Cambodia, South Africa are contemporary examples of totalitarian governments that have demonstrated wholesale violations of human rights. Numerous other examples cited in this chapter provide us with the need to help students understand totalitarianism and the need for people to speak out in defense of innocent victims whose voices have been silenced.

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